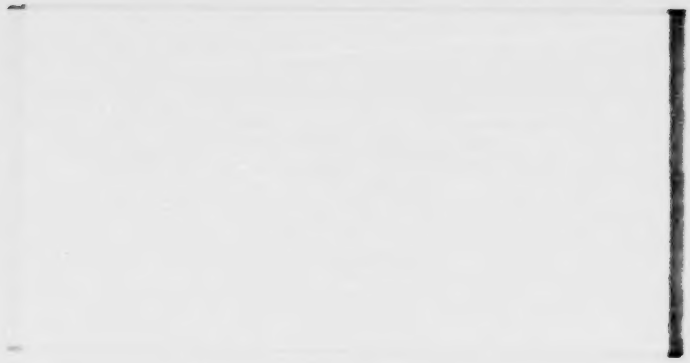

THE SOCIAL PLANNING and RESEARCH COUNCIL of Hamilton and District

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SOCIAL HOUSING IMPACT STUDY

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This research is dedicated to the thousands of homeless people in Canada and the even larger number of people who struggle each day to maintain themselves and their families in affordable, quality housing. The International Year of Shelter for the Homeless (1987) gave us all the opportunity to realize the depth of the problem. Let us never stop working toward quality shelter for all.

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And finally, thanks to the study participants who provided us with the data upon which to make recommendations about non-profit housing.

DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Affordable Housing - same as non-profit housing in this study.

Community Support Facilities/Services - or range of activities that can be provided at the neighbourhood level including doctors' offices, seniors' centers, legal aid clinics, mental health drop-in centers, etc.

Control Group of Neighbours - is a neighbourhood that does not have non-profit housing in it. It is contrasted with the other two neighbourhood groups which have non-profit housing complexes in the neighbourhoods. A control group was selected to see if neighbours who do not have non-profit housing in their neighbourhood have similar attitudes and perceptions as do neighbours who have non-profit housing in their neighbourhoods.

High Rise Apartments - more than 5 storeys high

Homelessness - There are two groups of people; street people and victims of disaster who have no homes at all (absolute homelessness) and people whose homes do not meet the United Nations basic standards (relative homelessness) (Canadian Council on Social Development, no date).

LEM - low end of market rental units.

Low Rise Apartments - less than 5 storeys high

MNPH - municipal non-profit housing - municipally-based non-profit housing corporations which develop and maintain non-profit housing projects which contain RGI and LEM units.

Neighbourhood - is a 2-block radius from a non-profit housing site or rental townhouse site. It forms a boundary from which study participants were selected.

Non-Profit Housing - all units, whether rent-geared-to-income or market rent, provided through various government programs by non-profit private, community-based or public organizations.

PNPH - private non-profit housing - non-profit housing which contains RGI and LEM units provided by community based or public organizations.

RGI - rent-geared-to-income units. In these units, tenants do not spend more than 30% of their gross income on rent.

Social Housing - same as non-profit housing in this study.

Social Support Networks - the group of family and friends which respondents think are important to them (e.g., for social activities, for emotional support, etc.).

Stigma - a negative attitude held by some people against others because of perceived inequalities.

PREAMBLE

This document is one of three volumes prepared during the course of the Social Housing Impact Study. It includes a review of the literature and references, a detailed methodology and the data from the questionnaires. The data from the questionnaires are presented in group form; that is, the responses to the same or similar questions for the four groups of respondents are presented in the same tables. This makes it easier for the reader to do his/her own comparative analysis of the response frequencies. The two final sections of the report contain a comparative analysis and recommendations.

A second publication contains only the comparative analysis and recommendations in detail and a brief description of the methodology.

A third publication, the Appendices, is also available. The Appendices contain detailed responses for every question in each of the four questionnaires for the four groups of respondents. The data are not presented in comparative form; each section is devoted to one of the four respondent groups.

One important point must be made at the outset of this report. The small number of respondents in each of the 4 groups limits the extent to which the study results can be generalized to the entire population of Hamilton residents. Since there were small numbers of respondents in each of the four groups, the conclusions and recommendations should be understood with caution until more data are collected and analysed for representativeness. Consequently, the collected data and any subsequent interpretations are made specific to these four groups and generalizations to other non-profit neighbours are conditional.

ABSTRACT

Introduction

This descriptive and exploratory study focused on the social impact of non-profit housing on residents of non-profit housing and their neighbours. This study had three purposes:

1. to develop an understanding of the impact on and changes in the quality of life for residents of a municipal non-profit housing site;
2. to develop an understanding of the impact on the neighbours of non-profit housing projects; and
3. to conduct a comparative analysis of the experiences of neighbours of a municipal non-profit housing site, a private non-profit housing site and a control group of neighbours.

Method and Participants

Four groups of participants were interviewed in person or by telephone with the aid of questionnaires. The following list outlines the groups of participants and their response rate.

1. the residents of a municipal non-profit housing site - 20 interviews were completed (response rate = 53%).
2. the neighbours who live in the same neighbourhood as a municipal non-profit housing site - 18 interviews were completed (response rate = 25%).
3. the neighbours who live in the same neighbourhood as a private non-profit housing site - 13 interviews were completed (response rate = 15%).
4. a control group of neighbours who do not live adjacent to any non-profit housing - 30 interviews were completed (response rate = 27%).

There are limitations to the generalizability of the findings because of the small number of participants. Consequently, the data and subsequent interpretations should be limited to the groups of the present study.

Summary and Conclusions

a) Impact on Municipal Non-Profit Housing Residents

- Overall, the residents are satisfied with their housing in terms of the size of various rooms, plumbing and water, heat and electricity, landscaping, play areas and parking. But a majority noted construction defects in their units. A majority also stated that the outside appearance of their units is important to them.

- A majority perceive services to be easily accessible. Thus, it does not appear that living where they are has affected their ability to get to necessary services.

- A majority of residents are still able to contact old neighbours, friends and relatives as necessary. Thus, respondents' social support networks do not appear to be negatively affected by where they live.

- On a number of items, low-end-of-market rent residents (LEM) responded more negatively than the rent-geared-to-income residents (RGI) about the impact of non-profit housing on themselves. The reason for these differences between the two groups may result from the RGI residents' perception that where they came from is much worse than what they have now, whereas LEM residents may not have the same perception.

b) Impact on Neighbours

- Municipal non-profit housing neighbours were more aware of private non-profit housing in their neighbourhood than municipal non-profit housing. Private non-profit housing neighbours were also more aware of private non-profit housing sites. Thus, most of the responses presented in this study reflect perceptions of non-profit housing sites other than the municipal non-profit housing site.

- Although support for non-profit housing was wide spread, this support tended to diminish as the issue became 'closer to home' for respondents (i.e., the 'not in my backyard' dilemma). Opposition to non-profit housing was more than twice as high as the level of opposition to locating other kinds of community services in neighbourhoods.

- The most frequent sources of concern related to issues of decreased property values and increased population densities. These responses appeared to be linked to an opposition to the development of townhouses - this is especially true of the control group (in this study, these were rentals) as opposed to non-profit housing per se.

- Most of the opposition to non-profit housing in neighbourhoods was tied to negative attitudes associated with the type and appearance of non-profit housing buildings and a lack of awareness of non-profit housing residents. In general, non-profit housing residents were judged more positively than non-profit housing buildings per se.

- In general, non-profit housing neighbours had slightly more positive perceptions about non-profit housing than did the control group neighbours. The results did not support the proposition that non-profit housing is disruptive and subsequently increases neighbours' opposition to non-profit housing.

- A group of neighbours who were aware of the non-profit sites in their neighbourhood showed a shift away from opposition to an increase in neutral or indifferent attitudes toward non-profit housing. If non-profit housing units were disruptive this trend would not have surfaced.

- Results from the private non-profit housing neighbours alone suggest that non-profit housing units can receive a relatively high degree of support in a community, if they are judged to fit in - single family homes 'fit in' to single family neighbourhoods.

- Some opposition to non-profit housing will occur in every neighbourhood - based on this study, the opposition to non-profit housing could be between 56% and 66% of the neighbourhood population whereas the opposition to non-profit housing residents could be 30% to 40%.

- If non-profit housing units are judged to 'fit in' to the neighbourhood and neighbours' awareness of the residents is facilitated through social interaction, opposition can be translated into neutral attitudes.

Recommendations

a) Municipal Non-Profit Housing Residents

1. THAT GOOD QUALITY BUILDING MATERIALS AND WORKMANSHIP BE CONSIDERED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NON-PROFIT HOUSING SO THAT BUILDINGS DO NOT DETERIORATE QUICKLY.
2. THAT THE EXTERIOR ENVIRONMENT SURROUNDING NON-PROFIT HOUSING UNITS BE MAINTAINED BY THE NON-PROFIT HOUSING BOARD SINCE A MAJORITY OF RESIDENTS STATED THAT THE OUTSIDE APPEARANCE OF THEIR UNITS WERE IMPORTANT TO THEM.
3. THAT FURTHER RESEARCH BE UNDERTAKEN TO FURTHER EXPLORE, UNDERSTAND AND SUBSEQUENTLY IMPROVE THE "RELATIONSHIP" BETWEEN RENT-GEARED-TO-INCOME RESIDENTS AND LOW-END-OF-MARKET RENT RESIDENTS.

b) Neighbours

4. GIVEN THE FREQUENCY OF CONCERNS ABOUT PROPERTY VALUES AND GIVEN THE APPARENT LACK OF EMPIRICAL RESEARCH ON THE EFFECTS OF NON-PROFIT HOUSING ON PROPERTY VALUES, THE FOLLOWING RECOMMENDATION IS POSED - THAT REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE SOCIAL PLANNING AND RESEARCH COUNCIL AND THE MUNICIPAL NON-PROFIT HOUSING CORPORATION MEET WITH REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE HAMILTON REAL ESTATE BOARD FOR THE PURPOSE OF REVIEWING THE FEASIBILITY OF ANALYZING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NON-PROFIT HOUSING AND NEIGHBOURHOOD PROPERTY VALUES IN HAMILTON-WENTWORTH.
5. GIVEN THE IMPORTANCE OF THE 'FIT' OF UNITS INTO A NEIGHBOURHOOD AND THE APPARENT IMPORTANCE OF INTERACTION AMONG RESIDENTS AND NEIGHBOURS WITH RESPECT TO FACILITATING NEIGHBOURHOOD ACCEPTANCE, THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES ARE RECOMMENDED:
   A) THAT NEIGHBOURS OF A PROPOSED NON-PROFIT SITE BE INVOLVED IN THE PLANNING AND SITE DEVELOPMENT PHASES TO ENSURE THAT THEIR CONCERNS ARE NOTED BY THE PROJECT DEVELOPERS (e.g. BUILDING TYPE, ETC.). "HIDING" A NON-PROFIT HOUSING DEVELOPMENT IN A NEIGHBOURHOOD MAY NOT BE A GOOD IDEA.
   B) THAT PLANS FOR PROPOSED NON-PROFIT DEVELOPMENTS INCLUDE SPECIFIC PLANS FOR FACILITATING THE INTERACTION OF RESIDENTS AND NEIGHBOURS (e.g., LOCATION AND ORIENTATION OF BUILDINGS, PATHWAYS, PLACEMENT OF COMMUNITY CENTERS, ETC.).
6. GIVEN THE PREVALENCE OF NEGATIVE STEREOTYPES ABOUT NON-PROFIT HOUSING RESIDENTS, IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT AN ORGANIZED COMMUNTY EDUCATION PROGRAM BE DESIGNED FOR USE IN NEIGHBOURHOODS WHERE NON-PROFIT SITES ARE PLANNED. THIS EDUCATION PROGRAM SHOULD INCLUDE:
   A) FACTUAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE NATURE OF NON-PROFIT HOUSING, ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS AND THE CHARACTERISTICS OF RESIDENTS;
   B) AN ABSTRACT OF THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY PERTAINING TO NEIGHBOURS' PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL HOUSING;
   C) ANY OBJECTIVE INFORMATION WHICH CAN BE GATHERED PERTAINING TO PROPERTY VALUES;
   D) INFORMATION ON THE MANNER IN WHICH NEIGHBOURS CAN PARTICIPATE IN THE PLANNING OF NON-PROFIT HOUSING IN THEIR NEIGHBOURHOODS.

7. THAT DESCRIPTIVE INFORMATION ABOUT THE VARIOUS NON-PROFIT HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS (INCLUDING THEIR NEIGHBOURHOODS) LOCATED NEAR THE THREE STUDY POPULATIONS OF THE PRESENT STUDY BE COLLECTED IN ORDER TO SEE IF THIS DATA COULD ACCOUNT FOR THE VARIATION FOUND AMONG THE NEIGHBOUR GROUPS. THIS WOULD INCLUDE BUT NOT BE LIMITED TO:
   A) DEMOGRAPHICS (USING CENSUS INFORMATION),
   B) CONTEXTUAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE SITES INCLUDING AGE OF SITE, RESIDENTIAL MIX AND OTHER DEVELOPMENTS, AND DIFFERENCE IN THE MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE SITES (i.e, CONTENT ANALYSIS, ETC.).
8. THAT POLICE DEPARTMENT DATA ON CRIME RATES BE COLLECTED FOR THE STUDIED NEIGHBOURHOODS AND OTHER SIMILAR NEIGHBOURHOODS (AS CONTROLS) TO SEE IF THERE ARE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES.
9. THAT RESEARCH BE UNDERTAKEN TO EXPLORE FURTHER THE GENERAL SOCIETAL BIAS WHICH EXISTS AGAINST LOW INCOME PEOPLE WHETHER THEY LIVE IN NON-PROFIT HOUSING OR NOT. AND TO ALSO, EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITY OF "PUBLIC EDUCATION" TO ALTER THIS BIAS.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The United Nations designated 1987 as the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless". As a result, there has been an effort around the world to raise people's awareness about the housing crisis that currently exists (e.g., very low vacancy rates, lack of good quality housing etc.). In the Hamilton-Wentworth Region, the local housing crisis has been receiving continuous scrutiny over the past few years.

The crisis in affordable housing, in particular, in Hamilton-Wentworth has been documented through the media, conferences and the monitoring of waiting lists. It is common knowledge that there is a lack of affordable and quality housing, a lack of available land upon which to build housing. Many builders encounter difficulties when they seek re-zoning prior to building non-profit housing. This region has been fortunate to have had a multi-sectoral response to this crisis, with private non-profits, co-operatives and the municipal non-profit housing corporation moving forward to provide the necessary stock with the support of senior levels of government. To date, however, there has been little attempt to determine the impact of this growth of non-profit housing projects.

This region has also witnessed strong attempts by citizens to block non-profit housing projects. This region lacks sound data to support assertions made by objectors or by commentators. This study presents some data to help this community better understand the social impact of non-profit housing on both the residents of non-profit housing and their neighbours.

1.2 Social Impact Assessment

Researchers believe that social impact assessments have many purposes. This current study focuses on one of these purposes - "to provide an understanding of the current community conditions and quality of life factors and their inter-relatedness" (Freeman, 1982:2). In short, social impact assessments assess the effect of projects or policies on people - the human implications of change.[1]

1.3 Purpose of the Study

This social impact study has three purposes:

a) to develop an understanding of the impact on and changes in the quality of life for residents of the only existing (to date) municipal non-profit housing site and a private non-profit housing site in Hamilton.

b) to develop an understanding of the impact on the neighbours of non-profit housing projects in neighbourhoods.

c) to conduct a comparative analysis of the experiences of both residents and neighbours of a private non-profit housing site and a municipal non-profit housing site.

[1] In some of the literature, social impact assessments "seek to predict and evaluate the social effects of a policy, program or project when it is still in the planning stage (i.e., anticipatory research, social forecasting)" (Connor, 1977:2). The present study measures the social impacts of projects which have already been planned and developed, thus it is not restricted to social forecasting.

2.0 LITERATURE SEARCH

An extensive search of the literature was undertaken. The search began with a manual exploration of government documents and books at Mills Memorial Library (McMaster University). This manual search exposed a few sources but most focused on community opposition to mental health facilities or group homes. Some of these publications were informative but they were not directly relevant to a study on non-profit housing because they dealt with residents who were perceived as a danger to the community. Residents of non-profit housing are not generally judged in the same manner.

As a result of this lack of sources, a computerized literature search was undertaken. This computer search examined several different information sources utilizing key words. The information sources that were examined include:

- Canadian Business and Current Affairs
- Canadian Periodic Index
- Magazine Index
- Public Affairs and Administration
- Sociological Abstracts

The key words used in this computer search include:

- non-profit housing
- assisted housing
- social housing

- public housing
- subsidized housing
- low rent housing
- effects of low rent housing
- impacts of low rent housing
- neighbourhood low rent housing

Although the potential for identifying resources through a computer search is great, this search revealed only a few sources of information and data. A few studies were not available in the library and due to the project's short time line, no attempt was made to acquire these copies.

Other sources were also consulted when the computer search did not yield the anticipated quantity of information. British journals were consulted because of the high number of social housing projects in Britain. As well, sociology, social welfare policy and geography theses were examined. Most of these sources did not focus on the impact of non-profit housing upon neighbourhoods, but they did examine community acceptance of other types of community support facilities (e.g., group homes and mental health facilities).

Telephone contact was also made with City Living in Ottawa and Toronto Homes to discover if they had information or research on the impact of non-profit housing on residents or neighbours. This avenue also uncovered very few resources.

2.1 Impacts of Non-Profit Housing on Residents

Many people have opinions and ideas about how social housing might affect its residents. However, there appears to be little written data to substantiate these ideas and opinions. From a social housing planning perspective, there is a need to determine the emotional, social support network and self esteem effects on residents of social housing. Given an understanding of these effects, attempts can be made, to further enhance the positive effects and diminish the negative ones during both the planning and operating phases of non-profit housing.

Although little seems to have been written specifically about the impacts of non-profit housing on its residents, there is vast literature on the social impact of housing in general. Some of the explanations outlined in this literature are applicable to non-profit housing research.

The United Nations' report on The Social Impact of Housing identified the need to recognize that "housing must be looked upon as more than the provision of a physical shell and attention should be paid to location near community facilities" (United Nations, 1977:6). The reports' authors emphasize this component because they think that "housing, as such, is tied to questions of employment, economic well-being, education, and the like" (United Nations, 1977:6). They pointed to the need to examine other aspects of individuals' lives and to understand how these components inter-relate with their housing needs.

Residents of non-profit housing in particular are confronted by two significant issues that do not necessarily affect other residents. Firstly, consumers of non-profit housing do not have a choice about where they would like to live. They can only live where they can find affordable units. And when they do find non-profit housing, the housing may not always meet their particular needs.

A second major issue with which many non-profit housing residents must contend is social stigma, either real or imagined. Taube and Levin (1971:540) think that society's emphasis on individual achievement reflects negatively on social housing residents thus affecting residents' perceptions of themselves and subsequent interactions with others. Some of these residents must overcome their feelings of inadequacy before quality interactions with others can occur. These authors state that in order to transcend the stigma, social housing residents should engage in more activity outside their housing site.

Taube and Levin (1971:536) also studied the sense of community in social housing. They found that as the number of friendships inside a non-profit housing complex increased for residents, the more positively the residents viewed their non-profit neighbours. They discovered for example, a positive correlation between a greater number of friends and a greater satisfaction with residents' home life. In addition, respondents who had friends both inside and outside the non-profit housing site were more satisfied with their social housing than residents who only had friends within the site.

In an earlier study of four housing projects in Syracuse, New York, Louis Kriesberg (1968) examined the problem of isolation among public housing tenants. He concluded, on the basis of his analysis, that social isolation from the surrounding community was a problem for residents of public housing units, unless "... the project tenants are largely drawn from the surrounding neighbourhood and no marked physical impediments to interaction exist ..." (pg.48).

A final noteworthy report on the subject of tenant effects was published by J.S. Fuerst in a 1985 issue of The Journal of Housing. Based upon interviews of tenants in a high-rise public housing project in Chicago, he came to the following conclusion - "... contrary to popular notions currently in vogue in planning circles, tenants can and do live happily in high-rises with diverse ethnic groups, with different income groups, and with children" (pg. 90).

The literature cited by Taube and Levin and Kriesberg refer to the types of non-profit housing in the United States which are totally subsidized. In Hamilton, the aim has been to integrate residents of subsidized units with those residents of market rent units in an attempt to minimize stigma. But, what if the prevailing societal attitude is one which stigmatizes the individuals who require subsidized housing? Does this not ultimately still affect all the residents even though subsidized units are integrated with market rent units?

In summary, then, this sparse empirical literature pertaining to the effects of non-profit housing upon residents provides an overview of prevailing notions about non-profit housing and its residents - accessibility to essential services is important, stigmatization is real, social interaction both on and off site is important for resident satisfaction, and residents' social isolation from the surrounding community could occur if there are physical impediments to interaction. The need for further research, as a basis for planning for non-profit housing is clear.

2.2 Impacts of Non-Profit Housing on Neighbours

Additions and deletions to neighbourhoods result in different types and levels of impacts. When non-profit housing is introduced into a neighbourhood, the neighbours often fear the changes they think might occur. "Opposition is generated when decisions are perceived to result in large negative differentials between the existing environment and the future environment" (Hughes, 1980:11).

Neighbours often raise the same objections to the development of non-profit housing in their neighbourhood as they do to group homes or mental

health facilities. These objections usually fall into the following categories (Currie, 1976:54):

- property values will decrease
- danger of personal, physical harm
- neighbourhood stigma
- traffic congestion

Currie argues that whether or not any of these concerns become real is of little consequence. Fincher (1975:26) agrees with Currie by stating that "as locational conflict matures, it appears that intangible opposition fears are translated into tangible seemingly more credible complaints". Thus if at least one of the four concerns listed above cannot be substantiated, the neighbours might search further for other issues that could be used to support objections to the non-profit housing development. For example, Fincher (1975:68) notes that neighbours unfamiliar with a planned facility for their area may also judge it based on:

- its design;
- its visibilty;
- type of activity; and
- impact (i.e., goodness of fit with the neighbourhood).

Thus, planners should be aware of how these external elements may be perceived by neighbours and subsequently how to plan, in advance, for the best possible fit. The need to involve neighbourhood residents in this planning process is a common theme in the literature (c.f., Sharpe, 1981).

Some literature has addressed the issue of why some types of neighbourhoods are more resistant to public housing than others. Dear (1974), for example, concluded that neighbourhoods which are more heterogeneous with respect to their socio-economic status are more accepting of public housing.

2.3 Summary

The literature pertaining to the impact of public housing upon both residents and the surrounding community is lacking in published empirical studies. It is not possible, therefore, to draw any substantive conclusions from the literature other than the following:

1. Residents of non-profit housing projects are more satisfied with their housing if they have a friendship network within and outside their housing complex.
2. Non-profit residents' own feelings of inadequacy resulting from the stigma they perceive exists in other people's minds can affect residents' interactions with their neighbours.
3. Residency in public housing projects can lead to a marked degree of social isolation between residents and neighbours.
4. Prevailing notions about the negative effects of high-rise public housing upon family residents have not been supported by empirical studies.
5. Neighbourhood opposition to public housing appears to coalesce around a few common themes and appears to be strongest in neighbourhoods which are particularly homogeneous with respect to socio-economic status.

The lack of a more comprehensive literature relating to the social impact of public housing highlights the importance of undertaking community-specific research projects of the present kind.

3.0 METHODOLOGY

The underlying intent of this research was descriptive and exploratory. The goal of the research project was twofold:

- to gain an understanding of the impact of non-profit housing on its residents and surrounding neighbours; and
- to compare the impact between residents of a municipal non-profit housing complex with residents of a private non-profit housing complex as well as to compare the 2 groups of neighbours of these non-profit housing complexes. Thus there are two groups of residents and two groups of neighbours.

The City of Hamilton currently has only one municipal non-profit housing site. It was selected for the present study. However, there were many private non-profit housing sites to choose from in Hamilton. A list of 9 private non-profit sites was selected from a master list based on the following list of variables. The following variables were then compared across the 9 sites in order to rank order them and to find a site similar to the municipal non-profit site:

i) location on the mountain;
ii) rent-geared-to-income component;
iii) number of units;
iv) age of the neighbourhood surrounding the non-profit housing site;
v) rental townhouse component; and
vi) residential and commercial mix.

The list of 9 were rank-ordered according to these variables.

Once this ranking had been completed, the Board of Directors of the private non-profit housing site (the site which was most similar to the municipal non-profit housing site) was contacted and requested to participate in the research (see Appendix E for the letter). (The major difference between the municipal site and the private site was that the municipal site was developed in an area where there was little residential development whereas the private site was developed in a neighbourhood that had already been established.)

After several weeks of negotiation with the private non-profit site, co-operation from the private non-profit housing Board of Directors did not occur. As a result the methodology was altered.

3.1 Altered Methodology and Comparisons

Since co-operation with the private non-profit housing board did not occur and there was no time to begin negotiations with another private non-profit housing site from the list of nine, it was decided to only include the neighbours surrounding the private non-profit housing site in the research. This meant that a second group of residents was not included in the study.

Instead of restricting the study to the following three groups:

1. municipal non-profit housing residents;
2. municipal non-profit housing neighbours; and
3. private non-profit neighbours,

an attempt was made to find another group of neighbours. This fourth group, a control group of neighbours, would provide valuable information because these neighbours were not situated near any non-profit housing. Including a control group could help test if exposure to non-profit housing affects the attitudes of those who live near non-profit housing compared to those who do not live near non-profit housing. And further, a control group could help explain whether any stated opposition to non-profit housing is a result of the type of housing (e.g., townhouses) or form of housing (e.g., assisted, rented, owned).

This fourth group of neighbours (i.e., the control group) was selected based on the variables outlined at the outset of this section. This fourth group of neighbours lived near a rental townhouse complex; townhouses are the type of housing on both the non-profit housing sites. Thus, four groups of respondents participated in this study:

1. municipal non-profit housing residents;
2. municipal non-profit housing neighbours;
3. private non-profit housing neighbours; and
4. a control group of neighbours not near non-profit housing.

The four groups of participants are not identified in this study in order to protect their identities and subsequently guarantee their anonymity. Nonetheless, it is important to provide a descriptive summary of the variables

considered in the decision to select the sites.[2] All the sites are located on the mountain area of the City of Hamilton. The three neighbourhoods had rental townhouses established within them; there were a similar number of rental townhouse units in each of the three neighbourhoods (between 30 and 47 units). Each neighbourhood comprised primarily single family residences with a small degree of retail development on the periphery of the two-block radius. The two non-profit housing sites had a similar number of rent-geared-to-income units (the municipal non-profit housing site had 40% and the private non-profit housing site contained approximately 25%) although it is not certain what effect this difference has on the findings. It was thought that the three selected neighbourhoods were appropriate for the study because of the similarities in the variables just listed.

3.2 Study Participants

The municipal non-profit residents were randomly selected (using a random number table and the simple random sampling technique) from an up-to-date list of residents. A letter was sent to the selected group explaining the purpose of the study and requesting them to participate (see Appendix A for a copy).

[2] Demographic data on each neighbourhood was not readily available in time for this project. This was due to the fact that the neighbourhoods were not typical neighbourhood units as defined by the Planning and Development Department. A two-block radius from the townhouse developments formed each of the three neighbourhoods. Consequently, no data were available for developing a demographic profile of each neighbourhood or subsequently, to consider the representativeness of the sub-samples.

The three groups of neighbours were also randomly selected (using a random number table and the simple random sampling technique) from within a two block radius of the non-profit housing site (or the rental townhouses for the control group). Names and addresses were collected from the City of Hamilton Data Centre. These three groups of neighbours were also sent letters of introduction to the study (see Appendices B, C, and D).

About a week after these letters were sent out, researchers contacted residents and neighbours and asked them to participate in the research. Only those residents' or neighbours' names which appeared on the list of randomly selected individuals were permitted to participate; no substitution was allowed. Those with unlisted phone numbers were visited personally by a researcher and asked if they were interested in participating in the study but that they were also under no obligation to participate.

3.3 Questionnaires and Data Collection

a) Questionnaires

Questionnaires used in related studies were collected and relevant questions were extracted and used in the questionnaires for the present study (Kitchener-Waterloo Social Planning Council, 1981 and McElroy et.al.). As well, the literature review revealed important issues which were incorporated into questions on the questionnaires. The Research Advisory Committee of the Social Planning and Research Council reviewed and critiqued the questionnaires. Since the names, addresses and phone numbers of the municipal

non-profit housing residents and neighbours were ready first, 10% of each group were selected to pre-test the questionnaires. Three questionnaires were then finalized: one for the municipal non-profit residents, one for the non-profit housing neighbours (both municipal and private) and one for the control group neighbours.

The questionnaire for the municipal non-profit housing residents comprises five major segments: the quality of the housing units, transportation to necessary services, social support networks, social stigma, and demographics (see Appendix A).

The questionnaire developed for the non-profit housing neighbours contains questions on community support services which neighbours oppose or support, perceived effects of non-profit housing on neighbourhoods, general attitudes toward non-profit housing and their residents, perceived images of non-profit residents, neighbours' thoughts on how well non-profit housing fits into their neighbourhoods, physical quality of non-profit housing and demographics[3].

The questionnaire for the control group neighbours utilized questions from the non-profit housing neighbours' questionnaire. This questionnaire was

[3] In this instrument, some questions are worded differently depending on whether the respondent is aware or not, that non-profit housing exists in the neighbourhood. It was important to differentiate between the neighbours who had informed opinions versus those who were speculating.

shorter than the non-profit housing neighbourhood questionnaire because questions specific to a non-profit housing site were omitted.

b) Data Collection

Potential respondents for three groups were contacted between October and December. Personal interviews in respondents' homes were scheduled during October, November and December for the

- municipal non-profit housing residents;
- municipal non-profit housing neighbours; and
- private non-profit housing neighbours.

In some instances, respondents felt uncomfortable about being interviewed in person and insisted on completing the questionnaire over the phone.

Due to the delay mentioned earlier, the control group neighbours were contacted and interviewed by telephone at the beginning of January.

3.4 Interview Summaries and Preliminary Findings

All the completed questionnaires were coded and entered into SPSS software for a microcomputer. Descriptive statistics were calculated for all the questions. The following table provides an overview of the total number of people who could have participated in the research, the number who were pre-tested, the refusal rate, a no-contact rate and reasons for refusal.

TABLE 3.1 OVERVIEW OF THE UNIVERSE OF STUDY PARTICIPANTS

	MNPH Residents	MNPH Neighbours	PNPH Neighbours	Control Group Neighbours
Universe	47	76	86	111
MNPH units not occupied at time of study	4	0	0	0
Pretest	5	5	0	0
Universe Available for Study	38	71	86	111
Completed Interviews	20 (52.6%)	18 (25.4%)	13 (15.1%)	30 (27.0%)
Refusals	9 (23.7%)	21 (29.6%)	15 (17.4%)	31 (27.9%)
Respondent not interested	4	14	11	15
Respondent too busy	3	0	1	10
Respondent currently moving	2	0	0	0
Respondent did not feel knowledgeable to give opinion	0	2	0	1
Respondent scheduled interview then cancelled	0	2	0	2
Respondent hung up	0	3	2	3
Respondent felt he/she had conflict of interest	0	0	1	0
Did not participate because Unable to contact	9 (23.7%)	20 (28.2%)	25 (29.1%)	34 (30.6%)
Did not speak English	0	10 (14.1%)	18 (20.9%)	9 (8.1%)
Deceased	0	1 (1.4%)	1 (1.2%)	3 (2.7%)
Moved	0	1 (1.4%)	10 (11.6%)	4 (3.6%)
Single non-profit units	0	0	4 (4.7%)	0

Table 3.2 provides a summary of demographic information for the four groups of respondents. The municipal non-profit residents and neighbours contain slightly more males than females but for the private non-profit neighbours and the control group the opposite is true. The age group containing the highest percentage of respondents is 26 to 35 years; the municipal non-profit residents and neighbours as well as the control group possess these percentages. The private non-profit neighbours on the other hand revealed a high percentage in the 46+ age group. A majority of respondents from all four groups were married/living together. The largest percentage of respondents across the four groups are full-time workers and the majority of respondents' spouses are employed primarily in full-time occupations. One third of the municipal non-profit housing neighbours did not have children but there were no childless respondents in the other three groups. Only 2 respondents out of the four groups said their children are in a day care program. The majority of respondents from the municipal non-profit housing residents and neighbours as well as the control group were born in Canada; the private non-profit neighbours revealed a higher percentage of people born outside of Canada. A large number of respondents in the three neighbourhood groups have lived in Hamilton for more than 21 years whereas the resident group majority have lived in Hamilton for less than 5 years.

TABLE 3.2: A SUMMARY OF DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION FOR THE FOUR GROUPS

	MNPH Residents		MNPH Neighbours		PNPH Neighbours		Control Group	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
a) Sex								
Male	11	(55.0)	10	(55.6)	6	(46.2)	13	(43.3)
Female	9	(45.0)	8	(44.4)	7	(53.8)	17	(56.7)
Total	20		18		13		30	
b) Age								
<25 Years	0		0		0		1	(3.3)
26 - 35 Years	9	(45.0)	8	(44.4)	2	(15.4)	10	(33.3)
36 - 45 Years	3	(15.0)	7	(38.9)	2	(15.4)	11	(36.7)
46+	8	(40.0)	3	(16.7)	9	(69.2)	8	(26.7)
c) Marital Status								
Never Married	1	(5.0)	1	(5.6)	1	(7.7)	0	
Separated/Divorced	6	(30.0)	0		1	(7.7)	0	
Married/Living Together	13	(65.0)	16	(88.9)	10	(76.9)	30	(100.0)
Widowed	0		1	(5.6)	1	(7.7)	0	
d) Work Status								
Full-Time Worker	11	(55.0)	13	(72.2)	7	(53.8)	17	(56.7)
Part-Time Worker	3	(15.0)	0		4	(30.8)	4	(13.3)
Full-Time Homemaker	4	(20.0)	5	(27.8)	1	(7.7)	7	(23.3)
Temporary Worker	0		0		0		1	(3.3)
Retired	0		0		1	(7.7)	1	(3.3)
Full-Time Student	2	(10.0)	0		0		0	
e) Spouse Employed?								
Yes	9	(69.2)	15	(98.8)	8	(80.0)	25	(83.3)
No	4	(30.8)	1	(6.3)	1	(10.0)	5	(16.7)
f) Spouses' Work Status								
Full-Time Worker	7	(77.8)	12	(80.0)	6	(75.0)	20	(80.0)
Part-Time Worker	2	(22.2)	3	(20.0)	2	(25.0)	5	(20.0)
g) Number of Children at Home								
No Children	0		6	(33.3)	5	(38.5)	5	(16.7)
1 Child	11	(55.0)	5	(27.8)	3	(23.1)	10	(33.3)
2 Children	6	(30.0)	4	(22.2)	1	(7.7)	11	(36.7)
3 Children	2	(10.0)	3	(16.7)	2	(15.0)	4	(13.3)
4 Children	1	(5.0)	0		1	(7.7)	0	
h) Children in Day Care								
Yes	2	(10.0)	0		0		question not asked	
i) Where Respondents Born?								
In Canada	17	(85.0)	11	(61.1)	4	(30.8)	22	(73.3)
Outside Canada	3	(15.0)	7	(38.9)	9	(69.2)	8	(26.7)
j) Length of Residence in Hamilton								
5 Years or Less	9	(45.0)	4	(22.2)	1	(7.7)	1	(3.3)
6 to 10 Years	3	(15.0)	2	(11.1)	0		2	(6.7)
11 to 20 Years	1	(5.0)	5	(27.8)	5	(38.5)	5	(16.5)
>21 Years	6	(30.0)	6	(33.3)	7	(53.9)	18	(60.0)

3.5 Limitations of the Findings

There are limitations to the generalizability of the findings of this research because of the small number of respondents. It is not certain what type of error and bias were operating to affect the participation except for the following:

- a majority of those who refused to participate said they were not interested in the study or were too busy (combined total of 76.3%).
- a large percentage did not participate because they could not be contacted (59.1%) or they did not speak English well enough to communicate their thoughts to the interviewer (24.8%).

Since there were small numbers of respondents in each of the four groups, all conclusions and recommendations should be understood with caution until more data are collected and analysed for representativeness. Consequently, the collected data and any subsequent interpretations are made specific to these four groups and generalizations to other non-profit neighbours are conditional.

4.0 FINDINGS

This section of the report provides a summary of the data. It does not include any quantitative analyses or interpretation of the data. The sole purpose of this section is to provide an overview of the residents' and neighbours' responses found in the questionnaires.

4.1 Municipal Non-Profit Residents Summary

a) Housing

- all respondents were supplied with a stove and fridge but no laundry facilities or air conditioning when they moved in.
- 12 (60.0%) respondents noted their units were 'in good condition' or 'alright' when they first moved in.
- 18 (90.0%) thought they had adequate flooring.
- for each of the following items, more than 50.0% of the respondents said they were 'satisfied': outdoor landscaping, indoor heat, toilet facilities, flood control, odour control, rodent control, insect control, air circulation, electricity, hot running water, drinking water, supplied appliances, garbage disposal, play areas, parking space.
- items for which respondents were generally 'dissatisfied' include: the paint and cleanliness/maintenance.
- 15 (75.0%) respondents said they noticed construction defects in their units; 4 (26.7%) specified leaky basement, 3 (20.0%) said cracked walls, 3 (20.0%) said poor paint job and 3 (20.0%) said leaky bathroom floor.
- 13 (86.7%) of these 15 respondents said the defects have not yet been fixed.

- 12 (60.0%) respondents said they've personalized their units (e.g., redecorated).
- 12 (60.0%) thought the kitchen space was not adequate and 11 (55.0%) thought the dining room space was not adequate; bathroom space, private space for self, unit layout, storage space, closet space and bedroom space were all rated adequate, good or excellent.
- 16 (80.0%) respondents said they do not have problems with their neighbours but 12 (60.0%) said they have problems with their neighbours' children.
- over 80.0% said they do not have problems with vandalism, grafitti, overcrowding or management.
- 17 (85.0%) found it 'easy' to adjust when they first moved there and 15 (75.0%) said their family members found it 'easy' to adjust.
- more than 80.0% said the inside and outside appearance of their units were 'important' or 'very important'.
- 18 (90.0%) respondents said it doesn't bother them to hear people calling their homes, non-profit housing.
- 16 (80.0%) think that living where they are is a 'positive experience'.

b) Transportation

- on average, 16 (80.0%) respondents perceive services (e.g., grocery and convenience stores, their doctor, a pharmacy, an elementary school, a hospital, a dentist, a department store, a recreation centre and a park) to be easily accessible even though most of these are located more than 3 blocks from respondents' homes.

- 16 (80.0%) respondents drive themselves to the grocery store to do their major shopping.
- 11 (61.1%) of 18 respondents said their family never takes the City transit bus or only when there's an emergency and the family car is not available.
- 17 (85.0%) respondents do not think that living where they are affects their ability to get around the City.

c) Social Support Network

- 14 (70.0%) would not welcome other new neighbours into the neighbourhood because 'we're not like that', 'we're private people', and 'we've never done that before'.
- 15 (75.0%) respondents indicated they exchange or borrow items from their neighbours.
- 13 (65.0%) respondents said they talk to at least one neighbour about personal worries or concerns yet 16 (80.0%) respondents said their neighbours are not among their closest friends.
- 15 (75.0%) said they still maintain contact with their old neighbours (i.e., where they used to live); 11 (73.3%) of these 15 respondents said there has been no significant changes in their relationship with old neighbours.
- 12 (60.0%) respondents said their contacts with close relatives have not changed since moving into their non-profit housing unit.

d) Stigma

A difference in perceptions within the municipal non-profit residents had not been anticipated at the outset of this research. After the data had been

collected, different trends emerged between the rent-geared-to-income (RGI) respondents and the low-end-of-market rent (LEM) respondents. There were 5 RGI respondents and 15 LEM respondents.

- 4 of the 5 RGI respondents (80.0%) said that they 'always' or 'sometimes' agree with the following statements:
  - non-profit housing has given me a positive outlook on life.
  - without non-profit housing it would have been difficult to provide for my children.
  - people treat me like everybody else.
  - people have come to accept us.
  - non-profit housing gives me a sense of security.
  - I feel attached to my home/neighbourhood.

  Thus they generally feel positive about how they are treated by others
- 3 of the 5 respondents (60.0%) said they 'never' or 'sometimes' feel that
  - neighbourhood people resent government assisting us.
  - I don't really feel like part of the community because I live in affordable housing.
  - I live so far away from important services.
  - living here makes me feel isolated and alone.

  Thus, in general, respondents do not think other people have negative perceptions about them and they do not possess an abundance of negative self-perceptions.
- 15 LEM respondents also responded to statements.

- contrary to the RGI respondents, 86.7% of the LEM respondents 'never' feel that non-profit housing has given them a positive outlook on life or that they feel a sense of security where they live.
- 10 (66.7%) think 'sometimes' or 'always' that the government should provide more non-profit housing because it provides them and their children with a home.
- all of these respondents (15, 100.0%) said they 'sometimes' or 'never' wish that there weren't subsidized units in this housing complex and they 'never' or 'sometimes' feel too far away from necessary services.
- 7 (46.7%) said they 'always' experience a strong attachment to their neighbourhood while 7 (46.7%) said they 'never' feel that way.
- 9 (60.0%) said they 'never' think that living in non-profit housing forces them to live with people who aren't like themselves.
- 7 (46.7%) said they can 'always' tell, after living there for awhile, which people live in subsidized units.

- 16 (80.0%) of the 20 respondents (both RGI and LEM) said other people probably say the non-profit housing looks attractive, nice or okay.
- 8 (40.0%) respondents thought that other people think non-profit residents are low income or low class people while 6 (30.0%) didn't know what other people's perceptions might be.
- 13 of 20 respondents (65.0%) said that other people's views about non-profit housing do not bother them.
- respondents suggested (in response to an open-ended question) the need for education, information, more communication and integration as important items to maintain support for non-profit housing. Respondents also said they'd like to see more community tolerance and an end to stereotypes.

In summarizing this section on stigma, the RGI and LEM respondents have opposite views about non-profit housing helping them develop a positive outlook on life (#1), being treated like everyone else despite the fact they are non-profit residents (#4) and having a sense of security as a result of living in non-profit housing (#10). The only item which saw similar responses between the two groups focused on the nearness of necessary services (#11).

The RGI respondents seem to feel more positive about how they are treated by others. In general, they also do not think people have negative perceptions about them. Finally, they do not possess an abundance of negative self perceptions.

On the other hand, the LEM respondents are not generally as positive; as a group, non-profit housing has not helped them develop a positive outlook on life, they feel they are treated differently by others because they live in non-profit housing and they do not have a sense of security living where they do. Yet they do not feel really different from the RGI group either. They (100%) 'never' wish that there weren't subsidized units in their complex and 60% 'never' think (while 27% 'sometimes' think) that living in non-profit housing forces them to live with people who are different from themselves. Nonetheless, 47% said they can 'always' tell (and 27% said they can 'sometimes' tell) after living there for awhile which people live in subsidized units. In conclusion, although LEM respondents do not say they are different from RGI residents, they seem fairly able to identify RGI residents as different from other residents/themselves.

e) Summary

Overall, residents are satisfied with their housing in terms of space, plumbing and water, heat and electricity, landscaping and play areas. But a majority of respondents indicated a number of construction defects in both their units and their neighbours. Thus, it seems that the quality of building material and workmanship requires consideration when this type of housing is being built.

The majority perceive services to be easily accessible. Thus respondents' ability to access services is not affected by living on this non-profit housing site.

The majority of respondents' contacts with neighbours, friends and close relatives do not appear to be negatively affected by where they live. Consequently this non-profit housing site does not have a deleterious affect on respondents' social support networks.

Finally, LEM respondents are more negative about the effect of non-profit housing on themselves than are RGI respondents. As a group, RGI respondents said that non-profit housing has given them a positive outlook on life, think they are treated like everyone else, feel secure where they live and feel like they are part of the neighbourhood.

4.2 Community Support Services Preferred by Three Groups of Neighbours

Table 4.1 provides an overview of respondents' reactions to locating various types of community support services in their neighbourhoods. In an

examination of responses across the three neighbourhood groups, it appeared that each of the groups favoured the location of legal aid clinics, an accountant's office, a lawyer's office and youth legal services in their neighbourhood.

A large number of the private non-profit neighbours (46.2%) and the control group (43.4%) favoured the placement of a mental health drop-in center in their areas. However, the same proportion (38.9%) of municipal non-profit housing neighbours were in favour as were opposed to the location of this support service in their neighbourhood.

All three study groups favoured the location of both seniors and youth drop-in centers.

The private non-profit neighbours and the control group were in favour of a drop-in center for the homeless in their respective neighbourhoods. However, almost one half of the municipal non-profit neighbours (44.4%) opposed the placement of this type of drop-in center in their area, compared to 15.4 percent of the private non-profit neighbours and 13.3 percent of the control group who opposed that development.

Recreation centers, seniors' fitness programs and children's day care centers were favoured by at least fifty percent of the respondents in each of the three study groups. Furthermore various health related services were favoured by a majority of respondents in each of the three groups.

TABLE 4.1: WHAT ARE RESPONDENTS' REACTIONS TO LOCATING THE FOLLOWING COMMUNITY SUPPORT SERVICES IN THEIR NEIGHBOURHOOD?

	MNPH Neighbours		PNPH Neighbours		Control Group	
	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)
Legal Aid Clinics						
In favour	11	(61.1)	9	(69.2)	21	(70.0)
Indifferent	4	(22.2)	2	(15.4)	5	(16.7)
Opposed	3	(16.7)	2	(15.4)	4	(13.3)
Total	18	(100.0)	13	(100.0)	30	(100.0)
An Accountant's Office						
In favour	11	(61.1)	8	(61.5)	19	(63.3)
Indifferent	4	(22.2)	4	(30.8)	9	(30.0)
Opposed	3	(16.7)	1	(7.7)	2	(6.7)
Total	18	(100.0)	13	(100.0)	30	(100.0)
A Lawyer's Office						
In favour	15	(83.3)	9	(69.2)	21	(70.0)
Indifferent	1	(5.6)	4	(30.8)	7	(23.3)
Opposed	2	(11.1)	0		2	(6.7)
Total	18	(100.0)	13	(100.0)	30	(100.0)
Youth Legal Services						
In favour	11	(61.1)	10	(76.9)	20	(66.7)
Indifferent	5	(27.8)	2	(15.4)	5	(16.7)
Opposed	2	(11.1)	1	(7.7)	5	(16.7)
Total	18	(100.0)	13	(100.0)	30	(100.1)

TABLE 4.1 (cont'd)

	MNPH Neighbours		PNPH Neighbours		Control Group	
	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)
Mental Health Drop-In Centers						
In favour	7	(38.9)	6	(46.2)	13	(43.4)
Indifferent	3	(16.7)	3	(23.1)	12	(40.0)
Opposed	7	(38.9)	4	(30.8)	5	(16.7)
Don't know	1	(5.6)	0		0	
Total	18	(100.1)	13	(100.1)	30	(100.1)
Seniors Drop-In Centers						
In favour	14	(77.8)	9	(69.2)	25	(83.3)
Indifferent	2	(11.1)	2	(15.4)	4	(13.3)
Opposed	2	(11.1)	2	(15.4)	1	(3.3)
Total	18	(100.0)	13	(100.0)	30	(99.9)
Youth Drop-In Centers						
In favour	14	(77.8)	8	(61.5)	22	(73.3)
Indifferent	2	(11.1)	2	(15.4)	4	(13.3)
Opposed	2	(11.1)	3	(23.1)	4	(13.3)
Total	18	(100.0)	13	(100.1)	30	(99.9)
Drop-In Centers for the Homeless						
In favour	6	(33.3)	7	(53.8)	15	(50.0)
Indifferent	4	(22.2)	4	(30.8)	11	(36.7)
Opposed	8	(44.4)	2	(15.4)	4	(13.3)
Total	18	(99.9)	13	(100.0)	30	(100.0)

TABLE 4.1 (cont'd)

	MNPH Neighbours		PNPH Neighbours		Control Group	
	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)
A Community Recreation Center						
In favour	17	(94.4)	9	(69.2)	29	(96.7)
Indifferent	0		2	(15.4)	0	
Opposed	1	(5.6)	2	(15.4)	1	(3.3)
Total	18	(100.0)	13	(100.0)	30	(100.0)
Youth Recreation Centre						
In favour	15	(83.3)	9	(69.2)	29	(96.7)
Indifferent	2	(11.1)	2	(15.4)	0	
Opposed	1	(5.6)	2	(15.4)	1	(3.3)
Total	18	(100.0)	13	(100.0)	30	(100.0)
Seniors' Fitness Programs						
In favour	14	(77.8)	9	(69.2)	27	(90.0)
Indifferent	2	(11.1)	3	(23.1)	3	(10.0)
Opposed	2	(11.1)	1	(7.7)	0	
Total	18	(100.0)	13	(100.0)	30	(100.0)
Children's Day Care Centers						
In favour	15	(83.3)	7	(53.8)	23	(76.7)
Indifferent	3	(16.7)	3	(23.1)	4	(13.3)
Opposed	0		3	(23.1)	3	(10.0)
Total	18	(100.0)	13	(100.0)	30	(100.0)

TABLE 4.1 (cont'd)

	MNPH Neighbours		PNPH Neighbours		Control Group	
	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)
A Doctor's Office						
In favour	15	(83.3)	9	(69.2)	23	(76.7)
Indifferent	3	(16.7)	4	(30.8)	4	(13.3)
Opposed	0		0		2	(6.7)
Don't know	0		0		1	(3.3)
Total	18	(100.0)	13	(100.0)	30	(100.0)
A Public Health Clinic						
In favour	15	(83.3)	10	(76.9)	23	(76.7)
Indifferent	1	(5.6)	2	(15.4)	3	(10.0)
Opposed	2	(11.1)	1	(7.7)	4	(13.3)
Total	18	(100.0)	13	(100.0)	30	(100.0)
A Dentist's Office						
In favour	15	(83.3)	8	(61.5)	21	(70.0)
Indifferent	2	(11.1)	4	(30.8)	6	(20.0)
Opposed	1	(5.6)	1	(7.7)	3	(10.0)
Total	18	(100.0)	13	(100.0)	30	(100.0)
A Geriatric Health Center						
In favour	13	(72.2)	9	(69.2)	24	(80.0)
Indifferent	4	(22.2)	3	(23.1)	5	(16.7)
Opposed	1	(5.6)	1	(7.7)	1	(3.3)
Total	18	(100.0)	13	(100.0)	30	(100.0)

Almost three quarters of the control group (73.3%) indicated that there were some services that they would prefer having in their neighbourhood (Table 4.2). This compares with 61.1 percent of the municipal non-profit neighbours and 53.8 percent of the private non-profit neighbours who stated a preference for certain services.

A recreation/community center was preferred by a large proportion of both the control group (63.6%) and the municipal non-profit neighbours. Fourteen percent of the private non-profit neighbours also cited a recreation center as a preferred service.

TABLE 4.2: TYPES OF SERVICES PREFERRED IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

	MNPH Neighbours		PNPH Neighbours		Control Group	
	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)
School	2	(18.2)	0		0	
Recreation/Community Center	5	(45.5)	1	(14.3)	14	(63.6)
Children's Day Care Center	2	(18.2)	1	(14.3)	2	(9.1)
Services for the Elderly	1	(9.1)	2	(28.5)	0	
Parks	1	(9.1)	0		0	
Anything quiet	0		1	(14.3)	0	
Public Health Clinic	0		1	(14.3)	0	
Drop-in Center	0		1	(14.3)	0	
Youth Recreation Center	0		0		2	(9.1)
Youth Drop-In Center	0		0		2	(9.1)
Doctor's Office	0		0		1	(4.5)
Home for Battered Women	0		0		1	(4.5)
Total	11	(100.1)	7	(100.0)	22	(99.9)

In an open-ended question, respondents were asked what service they were opposed to having developed in their neighbourhood. Approximately two-thirds of the municipal non-profit neighbours (66.7%) indicated that there were particular community support services that they were opposed to having located in their area. This compares with 46.2 percent of the private non-profit neighbours and 33.3 percent of the control group who were opposed to specific services.

Health clinics (mental health and public health) were cited by sixty percent of those in the control group opposed to a community support service. None of the respondents in the other two groups mentioned these health services.

Homes for special groups (psychiatric patients, persons with low incomes, single mothers and juvenile delinquents) comprised fifty percent of the municipal non-profit neighbours' responses to this question. Only ten percent of the control group cited these services, while none of the private non-profit neighbours mentioned homes for special groups.

4.3 A Comparison of the Perceived Effects of Non-Profit Housing on Neighbourhoods

a) Traffic

Two-thirds of the control group (66.7%) and about half of the private non-profit neighbours (53.8%) indicated that non-profit housing would increase the traffic on residential streets (Table 4.3). However, fifty percent of the

municipal non-profit neighbours stated that non-profit housing would have no effect on traffic and 44.4 percent thought that non-profit housing in the neighbourhood would increase traffic.

A large proportion of the respondents in each of the three groups said that an increase in the population density in the neighbourhood would be responsible for the traffic increase (Table 4.4).

TABLE 4.3: WOULD NON-PROFIT HOUSING AFFECT TRAFFIC?

	MNPH Neighbours		PNPH Neighbours		Control Group	
	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)
Increase	8	(44.4)	7	(53.8)	20	(66.7)
Decrease	1	(5.6)	0		0	
Remain the same	9	(50.0)	5	(38.5)	6	(20.0)
Depends on the site	0		0		1	(10.0)
Don't know	0		1	(7.7)	3	(3.3)
Total	18	(100.0)	13	(100.0)	30	(100.0)

TABLE 4.4: WHY WOULD NON-PROFIT HOUSING AFFECT TRAFFIC?

	MNPH Neighbours		PNPH Neighbours		Control Group	
	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)
Increase						
Increased population density	7	(38.9)	7	(58.3)	17	(65.4)
Many visitors to the site	0		0		1	(3.8)
Businesses/services would move to neighbourhood	0		0		1	(3.8)
New area - increase in people and traffic	1	(5.6)	0		0	
Increase - no reason given	0		0		1	(3.8)
Decrease						
More buses to serve the area	1	(5.6)	0		0	
Remain the Same						
Non-profit residents would not have cars	1	(5.6)	0		0	
Already a lot of traffic	1	(5.6)	1	(8.3)	0	
Remain the same - no reason given	7	(38.9)	4	(33.3)	6	(23.1)
Total	18	(100.2)	12	(99.9)	26	(99.9)

b) Parking

In both the control group and the private non-profit neighbours, the same proportion of respondents indicated that locating non-profit housing in the neighbourhood would affect the availability of parking space as those who stated non-profit housing would have no effect (Table 4.5). In contrast, more municipal non-profit housing neighbours (55.6%) said parking would not be affected and only 38.9% said parking would be affected. More competition for

the available parking spaces as a result of more people with cars living in the area was the effect mentioned by at least fifty percent of the respondents in each of the three groups (Table 4.6).

TABLE 4.5: WOULD NON-PROFIT HOUSING AFFECT PARKING SPACE AVAILABLE IN NEIGHBOURHOOD?

	MNPH Neighbours		PNPH Neighbours		Control Group	
	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)
Yes	7	(38.9)	6	(46.2)	15	(50.0)
No	10	(55.6)	6	(46.2)	15	(50.0)
Don't know	1	(5.6)	0		0	
Not specified	0		1	(7.7)	0	
Total	18	(100.1)	13	(100.1)	30	(100.0)

TABLE 4.6: WHAT KIND OF EFFECT WOULD NON-PROFIT HOUSING HAVE ON PARKING?

	MNPH Neighbours		PNPH Neighbours		Control Group	
	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)
More people with cars living in the neighbourhood - must compete for space	5	(71.4)	3	(50.0)	12	(80.0)
Non-profit residents would park on the street	1	(14.3)	1	(16.7)	0	
Non-profit sites generally do not supply enough parking	1	(14.3)	1	(16.7)	1	(6.7)
Streets are too narrow for parking	0		1	(16.7)	1	(6.7)
More guests to the area	0		0		1	(6.7)
Total	7	(100.0)	6	(100.1)	15	(100.1)

A majority of respondents in each of the three groups felt that parking would still be affected if the non-profit site had its own parking. Table 4.7 reveals these findings. Reasons cited for the effect on parking include: there would be more people with cars and guests would park on the street.

TABLE 4.7: WOULD PARKING STILL BE AFFECTED IF NON-PROFIT SITE HAD ITS OWN PARKING?

	MNPH Neighbours		PNPH Neighbours		Control Group	
	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)
Yes	4	(57.1)	5	(83.3)	8	(53.3)
No	3	(42.9)	1	(16.7)	6	(40.0)
Don't know	0		0		1	(6.7)
Total	7	(100.0)	6	(100.0)	15	(100.0)

c) Property Values

A majority of each of the three study groups stated that the location of non-profit housing in their neighbourhoods would affect property values (Table 4.8). Over ninety percent of respondents in each group indicated that the property values would decrease as a result of non-profit housing being placed in the area. In fact, all of the private non-profit neighbours who felt that property values would be affected in some way stated that their property values would decrease (Table 4.9).

TABLE 4.8: WOULD NON-PROFIT HOUSING AFFECT PROPERTY VALUES INSIDE THE NEIGHBOURHOOD?

	MNPH Neighbours		PNPH Neighbours		Control Group	
	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)
Yes	15	(83.3)	12	(92.3)	23	(76.7)
No	1	(5.6)	0		5	(16.7)
Don't know	1	(5.6)	0		2	(6.7)
Depends	1	(5.6)	0		0	
Not specified	0		1	(7.7)	0	
Total	18	(100.1)	13	(100.0)	30	(100.1)

TABLE 4.9: WHAT KIND OF EFFECT WOULD NON-PROFIT HOUSING HAVE ON PROPERTY VALUES?

	MNPH Neighbours		PNPH Neighbours		Control Group	
	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)
Decrease property values	15	(93.8)	12	(100.0)	21	(91.3)
Decrease property values unless non-proft housing is sporadic	0		0		1	(4.3)
Effect not specified	0		0		1	(4.3)
Depends on whether residents maintain their units	1	(6.3)	0		0	
Total	16	(100.1)	12	(100.0)	23	(99.9)

d) Noise

Noise is another component of the residential environment. Respondents were asked if non-profit housing would affect noise levels in their neighbourhoods. Table 4.10 reveals the responses. A majority of respondents (between 50.0% and 55.6%) in all four groups said non-profit housing would affect noise levels. But 45.0% of the municipal non-profit residents said there would be no effect. Table 4.11 indicates that the direction of the effect outlined by the majority is toward an increase in noise levels because there would be more people, more cars, more children and teenagers, loud music, and frequent parties.

TABLE 4.10: A COMPARISON OF 4 GROUPS OF RESPONDENTS' ANSWERS TO: WOULD NON-PROFIT HOUSING AFFECT NOISE LEVELS IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD?

	MNPH Residents*	MNPH Neighbours	PNPH Neighbours	Control Group
Yes	11 (55.0)	10 (55.6)	7 (53.8)	15 (50.0)
No	9 (45.0)	6 (33.3)	4 (30.8)	10 (33.3)
It depends	0	0	1 (7.7)	3 (10.0)
Don't know	0	2 (11.1)	0	2 (6.7)
Unspecified	0	0	1 (7.7)	0
Total	20 (100.0)	18 (100.0)	13 (100.0)	30 (100.0)

* MNPH Residents were asked if noise has been a problem in their building.

TABLE 4.11: A COMPARISON OF THE 4 GROUPS OF RESPONDENTS' LISTS OF REASONS WHY THERE WOULD BE MORE NOISE IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

	MNPH Residents*	MNPH Neighbours	PNPH Neighbours	Control Group
Noisier neighbourhood in general	0	3 (30.0)	3 (42.9)	9 (60.0)
More children and teens	1 (9.1)	0	2 (28.6)	3 (20.0)
Neighbour noise/ arguing	5 (45.4)	0	0	0
Residents party often	1 (9.1)	2 (20.0)	1 (14.3)	0
Loud music	1 (9.1)	2 (20.0)	1 (14.3)	0
More traffic	0	3 (30.0)	0	2 (13.3)
More people in neighbourhood	0	0	0	1 (6.7)
Construction	2 (18.2)	0	0	0
Walls are too thin	1 (9.1)	0	0	0
Total	11 (100.0)	10 (100.0)	7 (100.1)	15 (100.0)

* MNPH Residents list reasons for noise in their building and on the site.

e) Summary of the Perceived Effects

In general, a majority of respondents across the three neighbour groups said traffic would increase in a neighbourhood if non-profit housing was introduced. An equal number of respondents thought parking would be affected by non-profit housing as those respondents who said there would be no effect; however there were slightly more municipal non-profit residents who said there would be no effect than those who said there would be an effect. Over three-quarters of the respondents in each of the three groups said their property values would be affected by non-profit housing; the direction of this effect was to create lower property values. A majority of each of the three neighbour groups said noise levels would increase in the neighbourhood if non-profit housing was developed in the neighbourhood.

4.4 A Comparison of General Attitudes Toward Non-Profit Housing in Neighbourhoods

Table 4.12 is a comparison of the three neighbour groups' levels of agreement regarding statements about non-profit housing.

1. More than 83.0% of the respondents in each group 'agree' that non-profit housing is a good way to help others find affordable housing.
2. Between 44.0% and 66.0% of the respondents across the 3 groups 'disagree' that increased government spending to build non-profit housing is a waste of tax dollars.
3. Three different sets of answers emerged in response to, 'neighbourhood residents have nothing to fear from people who live in non-profit housing' - 50.0% of municipal non-profit housing neighbours 'disagree'

- 46.2% of private non-profit housing neighbours 'agreed'
- 40.0% of the control group neighbours are 'neutral'.

4. More than 53.0% in each group 'disagree' that all non-profit housing should be built in one specified area of the City rather than spread throughout the City.
5. Between 46.0% and 80.0% of the respondents across the 3 groups 'agree' that we need to develop a more tolerant attitude.
6. More than 60.0% in each group 'disagree' that it is frightening to think of non-profit residents living in their area.
7. All three groups 'agreed' (between 40.0% and 61.0%) that they should accept the location of non-profit housing in their neighbourhood to serve the needs of the local community. But the control group had 40.0% agree and 36.7% disagree to this statement.
8. The municipal non-profit neighbours (44.4%) and the control group neighbours (43.3%) 'agree' that they would not want to live next door to someone in non-profit housing but the private non-profit neighbours (46.2%) 'disagree'.
9. More than 76.0% in each of the three groups said they 'agree' that non-profit housing residents should not be treated as outcasts.
10. All three groups tend to 'disagree' (between 46.0% and 61.1%) that non-profit residents may be a bad influence on their children. But the private non-profit group also had a large percentage of neutral responses (46.2%).

In summary, statements #1, #2, #4, #5, #6, #7 and #9 revealed a majority of responses in the same direction for the three groups. But, when it was stated that residents have nothing to fear of non-profit residents (#3), municipal non-profit neighbours disagreed, private non-profit neighbours agreed and the control group was neutral. There was also a divergence in opinion about not wanting to live next door to non-profit housing (#8); the municipal non-profit housing neighbours and the control group 'agree' but the private non-profit neighbours 'disagree'. Thus not being fearful of living next door to non-profit housing lead to the largest discrepancies in opinion. It is interesting to note that 8 out of 10 statements revealed very similar trends for the largest percentages across the 3 groups.

TABLE 4.12: A COMPARISON OF THE THREE DIFFERENT NEIGHBOUR GROUPS REGARDING THEIR LEVEL OF AGREEMENT WITH STATEMENTS ABOUT NON-PROFIT HOUSING

Statements from the Questionnaires	MNPH Neighbours			PNP Neighbours			Control Group		
	Agree*	Neutral	Disagree*	Agree*	Neutral	Disagree*	Agree*	Neutral	Disagree*
1. Non-profit housing is a good way to help others find affordable housing.	15 (83.4)	1 (5.6)	2 (11.2)	11 (84.6)	2 (15.4)	0	25 (83.3)	2 (6.7)	3 (10.0)
2. Increased government spending to build non-profit housing is a waste of tax dollars.	7 (38.9)	3 (16.7)	8 (44.4)	3 (23.1)	3 (23.1)	7 (53.9)	5 (16.7)	5 (16.7)	20 (66.7)
3. Neighbourhood residents have nothing to fear from people who live in non-profit housing.	5 (27.8)	4 (22.2)	9 (50.0)	6 (46.2)	2 (15.4)	5 (38.5)	9 (30.0)	12 (40.0)	9 (30.0)
4. All non-profit housing should be built in one specified area of the City rather than spread throughout the City.	3 (16.7)	2 (11.1)	13 (72.2)	3 (23.1)	3 (23.1)	7 (53.9)	4 (13.3)	4 (13.3)	22 (73.3)
5. We need to adopt a far more tolerant attitude toward those people who are receiving financial assistance to find affordable housing.	11 (61.1)	1 (5.6)	6 (33.3)	6 (46.2)	5 (38.5)	2 (15.4)	24 (80.0)	2 (6.7)	4 (13.3)

* Agree and disagree also include the categories strongly agree and strongly disagree, respectively. 'No responses' were omitted from this table.

Continued ...

TABLE 4.12 (cont'd)

	MNPH Neighbours			PNP Neighbours			Control Group		
	Agree*	Neutral	Disagree*	Agree*	Neutral	Disagree*	Agree*	Neutral	Disagree*
6. It is frightening to think of residents of non-profit housing living in this area.	3 (16.7)	1 (5.6)	14 (77.8)	1 (7.7)	1 (7.7)	11 (84.6)	3 (10.0)	9 (30.0)	18 (60.0)
7. Residents should accept the location of non-profit housing in their neighbourhood to serve the needs of the local community.	8 (44.4)	4 (22.2)	6 (33.3)	8 (61.5)	2 (15.4)	3 (23.1)	12 (40.0)	7 (23.3)	11 (36.7)
8. I would not want to live next door to someone who lives in non-profit housing.	8 (44.4)	4 (22.2)	6 (33.3)	3 (23.1)	4 (30.8)	6 (46.2)	13 (43.3)	11 (36.7)	6 (20.0)
9. People who live in non-profit housing should not be treated as outcasts of society.	16 (88.9)	1 (5.6)	1 (5.6)	10 (76.9)	1 (7.7)	2 (15.4)	28 (93.3)	2 (6.7)	0
10. People who live in non-profit housing may be a bad influence on our children.	6 (33.3)	1 (5.6)	11 (61.1)	1 (7.7)	6 (46.2)	6 (46.2)	10 (33.3)	6 (20.0)	14 (46.7)

* Agree and disagree also include the categories strongly agree and strongly disagree, respectively.
'No responses' were omitted from this table.

A four way comparison about support for, or opposition to, locating non-profit housing in neighbourhood reveals some differences between all 4 groups. Table 4.13 shows that the largest percentage of non-profit residents (40.0%) did not know or were indifferent when asked if they thought neighbours would oppose or support non-profit housing in their neighbourhood. Almost one-third of these residents thought neighbours would oppose non-profit housing in their neighbourhood. The private non-profit neighbours (53.8%) and the control group (66.7%) definitely thought they would oppose non-profit housing in their neighbourhoods while the municipal non-profit neighbours were equally divided regarding support (38.9%) or opposition (38.9%) to non-profit housing.

TABLE 4.13: A COMPARISON OF 4 GROUPS OF RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR THE LOCATION OF NON-PROFIT HOUSING IN NEIGHBOURHOODS

MNPH Residents		MNPH Neighbours	PNPH Neighbours	Control Group
"Do you think other people in the neighbourhood support or oppose non-profit housing in their neighbourhood?"		"Would you say that in general you support or oppose the location of non-profit housing in your neighbourhood?"		
Support	5 (25.0)	7 (38.9)	5 (38.5)	4 (13.3)
Oppose	6 (30.0)	7 (38.9)	7 (53.8)	20 (66.7)
Don't know/ indifferent	8 (40.0)	3 (16.7)	1 (7.7)	5 (16.7)
It depends	0	1 (5.6)	0	1 (3.3)
No response	1 (5.0)	0	0	0
Total	20 (100.0)	18 (100.1)	13 (100.0)	30 (100.0)

4.5 A Comparison of the Perceived Images of Non-Profit Housing in Neighbourhoods

a) Physical Appearance

It is interesting to compare responses across the four groups regarding the physical appearance of non-profit housing in neighbourhoods. Two different questions were asked of the residents and the three neighbour groups. These questions were not identical but they provide answers which can be compared for similar content to see if there are similar perceptions between neighbours and residents of non-profit housing. Table 4.14 provides an overview of these questions and their answers. The majority of the municipal non-profit residents, 16 (80.0%), think the outside appearance of their unit is important or very important. These 16 respondents also think that other people think non-profit housing is attractive or looks nice. Unfortunately, the majority of responses from the three groups of neighbours do not coincide with the residents' descriptions; the majority of neighbours' responses are negative whereas the majority of residents' responses are positive. All three groups of neighbours thought non-profit housing would detract from the visual appearance of their neighbourhoods. Not one neighbourhood respondent thought non-profit housing would enhance the appearance of their neighbourhood and a few said 'it depends'. Thus, a major difference in perception exists between non-profit residents and the three groups of neighbours. Within the three groups of neighbours, the control group revealed higher percentages for non-profit housing 'not having an effect' (13.3%) on the visual appearance of a neighbourhood and 'it depends' (26.7%) on the site, than the other two groups of neighbours.

TABLE 4.14: A COMPARISON OF 4 GROUPS OF RESPONDENTS' ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS SURROUNDING THE OUTSIDE PHYSICAL APPEARANCE OF NON-PROFIT HOUSING

MNPH Residents	MNPH Neighbours	PNP Neighbours	Control Group
1. "How important is the outside appearance of your unit?"	Question	not	asked
- important - 9 (45.0)			
- very important - 7 (35.0)			
- should look neat - 1 (5.0)			
2. Brief descriptions of how residents think other people describe the outside of their building.	Question	not	asked
- looks nice, attractive, good, fine, okay - 16 (80.0)			
- backyard looks horrible - 1 (5.0)			
- no response - 2 (10.0)			
- don't know - 1 (5.0)			
3. Question not asked	"Do you think that the addition of non-profit housing would enhance, detract or have no effect on the visual appearance of your neighbourhood?"		
Detract	13 (72.2)	8 (61.5)	18 (60.0)
Enhance	0	0	0
No effect	1 (5.6)	1 (7.7)	7 (23.3)
It depends	2 (11.1)	3 (23.1)	4 (13.3)
No response	0	1 (7.7)	0
Don't know	2 (11.1)	0	1 (3.3)

b) Influence on New Neighbours' Movement Into a Neighbourhood

Almost three-quarters (72.2%) of the municipal non-profit neighbours stated that the location of non-profit housing in the neighbourhood would discourage others from moving there, compared to 53.3 percent of the control group and 46.2 percent of the private non-profit neighbours (Table 4.15).

The largest proportion (50.0%) of the private non-profit neighbours who thought that non-profit housing in the area would discourage others from moving there thought it was because the appearance of non-profit housing is unappealing. A small proportion (7.1%) of the municipal non-profit neighbours also felt this way, while none of the control group reported this reason. Other reasons why non-profit housing would discourage people from moving in include: residents would not maintain their homes, the neighbourhood would look too crowded, the neighbourhood would look low class, the resale value of their homes might not be high, more grafitti and damage, lack of privacy and residents might cause problems.

TABLE 4.15: WOULD NON-PROFIT HOUSING ENCOURAGE OR DISCOURAGE PEOPLE FROM MOVING INTO YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD?

	MNPH Neighbours		PNPH Neighbours		Control Group	
	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)
Encourage	1	(5.6)	0		1	(3.3)
Discourage	13	(72.2)	6	(46.2)	16	(53.3)
Depends	2	(11.1)	2	(15.4)	6	(20.0)
Don't know	1	(5.6)	5	(38.5)	3	(10.0)
Have no effect	1	(5.6)	0		3	(10.0)
Both encourage and discourage	0		0		1	(3.3)
Total	18	(100.1)	13	(100.1)	30	(99.9)

c) Nearness of Non-Profit Housing

Table 4.16 reveals comparisons across the three neighbour groups regarding the location of non-profit housing within certain distances. When asked to rate on a scale of 1 to 10, the desirability of locating non-profit housing within seven to twelve blocks from their homes, 50.0 percent of the municipal non-profit neighbours and 56.7 percent of the control group said this was 'somewhat desirable' (rating between four and seven). However, 46.2 percent of private non-profit neighbours rated this distance in the most desirable range, (i.e., between eight and ten).

The largest proportion of both the municipal non-profit neighbours (50.0%) and the control group (63.3%) rated the location of non-profit housing within two to six blocks from their homes as least desirable (rating between one and three). However, the private non-profit neighbours were undecided about this

distance with the majority (53.9%) of their ratings falling between four and seven.

All three study groups rated the location of non-profit housing within one block from their homes as least desirable. In fact, 83.3 percent of the control group, 66.7 percent of the municipal non-profit neighbours and 53.8 percent of the private non-profit neighbours rated this distance between one and three.

d) Images in General

In an open-ended question, respondents were asked about the general images they think are held by society about non-profit housing residents. Table 4.17 lists a prevalence of negative images for all 4 groups. A large number of non-profit residents (40.0%) think the image of people being on government assistance and low incomes is pervasive throughout society. Municipal non-profit neighbours indicated 2 prevalent images: goverment assistance and low income (33.3%) as well as non-profit residents being shunned and looked down on (33.3%). Thirty-eight percent private non-profit neighbours believe that society shuns non-profit residents and looks down on them. The most pervasive image for the control group neighbours (40.0%) falls into the government assistance and low income category.

TABLE 4.16: RESPONDENTS RATE THE DESIRABILITY OF LOCATING NON-PROFIT HOUSING THE FOLLOWING DISTANCES FROM THEIR HOMES

Scale	Within 7 to 12 Blocks			Within 2 to 6 Blocks			Within 1 Block		
	MNPH Neighbours	PNPH Neighbours	Control Group	MNPH Neighbours	PNPH Neighbours	Control Group	MNPH Neighbours	PNPH Neighbours	Control Group
Least Desirable									
1	4 (22.2)	0	6 (20.0)	5 (27.8)	1 (7.7)	9 (30.0)	12 (66.7)	7 (53.8)	21 (70.0)
2	0	0	0	2 (11.1)	0	6 (20.0)	0	0	1 (3.3)
3	1 (5.6)	1 (7.7)	1 (3.3)	2 (11.1)	1 (7.7)	4 (13.3)	0	0	3 (10.0)
4	1 (5.6)	2 (15.4)	1 (3.3)	1 (5.6)	4 (30.8)	3 (10.0)	3 (16.7)	0	0
5	3 (16.7)	1 (7.7)	9 (30.0)	4 (22.2)	2 (15.4)	3 (10.0)	2 (11.1)	2 (15.4)	0
6	3 (16.7)	1 (7.7)	5 (6.7)	2 (11.1)	1 (7.7)	1 (3.3)	0	0	1 (3.3)
7	2 (11.1)	0	2 (6.7)	1 (5.6)	0	0	0	0	0
8	2 (11.1)	4 (30.8)	2 (6.7)		1 (7.7)	1 (3.3)	0	1 (7.7)	1 (3.3)
9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Most Desirable									
10	2 (11.1)	2 (15.4)	2 (6.7)	1 (5.6)	1 (7.7)	1 (3.3)	1 (5.6)	1 (7.7)	1 (3.3)
Indifferent	0	2 (15.4)	2 (6.7)	0	2 (15.4)	2 (6.7)	0	2 (15.4)	2 (6.7)
Total	18 (100.1)	13 (100.1)	30 (100.1)	18 (100.1)	13 (100.1)	30 (99.9)	18 (100.1)	13 (100.0)	30(99.9)

TABLE 4.17: A COMPARISON OF 4 GROUPS OF RESPONDENTS' THOUGHTS ABOUT THE GENERAL IMAGE HELD BY SOCIETY OF THE RESIDENTS OF NON-PROFIT HOUSING

Images	MNPH Residents	MNPH Neighbours	PNPH Neighbours	Control Group
No response	2 (10.0)	0	1 (7.7)	
Not sure, don't know	6 (30.0)	2 (11.1)	3 (23.1)	2 (6.7)
They receive some form of government assistance (low income, etc.)	8 (40.0)	6 (33.3)	3 (23.0)	12 (40.0)
They're troublemakers, slobs	2 (10.0)	0	0	0
They're looked down upon, shunned, not favourable, discriminated against, negative image	0	6 (33.3)	5 (38.5)	6 (20.0)
They're single parents	1 (5.0)	0	0	0
They're like everyone else, like everyday citizens	1 (5.0)	0	0	1 (3.3)
They don't maintain their property	0	1 (5.6)	0	6 (20.0)
Unemployed, they're lazy	0	2 (11.1)	0	1 (3.3)
Images vary between people, some distortion	0	1 (5.6)	0	1 (3.3)
Young, loud and destructive	0	0	1 (7.7)	1 (3.3)
Total	20 (100.0)	18 (100.0)	13 (100.0)	30 (99.9)

e) Summary of Perceived Images

When the four groups of respondents were asked about the physical appearance of non-profit housing in their neighbourhoods, the residents thought that their neighbours perceive their non-profit housing complex to be attractive or looks nice. Unfortunately, the majority of responses from the three groups of neighbours were opposite to the residents' thoughts and more

negative; the neighbours thought non-profit housing would detract from the visual appearance of the neighbourhood. Between 46% and 72% of the three neighbourhood groups said non-profit housing would discourage others from moving into the neighbourhood. There is also an indication that the closer (e.g., smaller number of blocks) non-profit housing comes to peoples' homes, the more likely they are to label it less desirable. And finally, the most prevalent images of the residents stated by non-profit residents and their neighbours include: these people are on government assistance, they're low income and they're looked down on/shunned by society.

4.6 A Comparison of the Level of Non-Profit Housing 'Fit' in Neighbourhoods

a) Group That is Unaware of Non-Profit Housing in Their Neighbourhood

One-third of the municipal non-profit neighbours were unaware of non-profit housing specifically in their neighbourhood. This compares with 46.2 percent of the private non-profit neighbours unaware of non-profit housing in their area.

Of these respondents, 66.7 percent of the municipal non-profit neighbours compared to 33.3 percent of the private non-profit neighbours said that residents of non-profit housing would fit well into their neighbourhoods. The same proportion (16.7%) in both groups thought that non-profit residents would not fit into their neighbourhoods.

The groups stated a number of different reasons for their perceptions. Sixty-six percent (2 respondents) of the private non-profit neighbours thought that the residents would fit-in because they are just like everybody else, whereas 60 percent (3 respondents) of the municipal non-profit thought that non-profit residents would fit in well because the neighbourhood is diverse and residents would mix in well.

More neighbours of both non-profit sites thought their neighbours would reject non-profit housing residents. Sixteen percent of the municipal non-profit neighbours thought that the neighbours would accept the residents, while none of the private non-profit neighbours saw it that way; 50.0% (3 respondents) of the municipal non-profit neighbours and 66.7% (4 respondents) of the private non-profit housing neighbours thought their neighbours would reject non-profit housing residents.

Society's negative image of non-profit residents was cited by respondents in both groups as a reason why neighbours would reject non-profit residents coming into the area. A fear of a decrease in property values and some people are too judgemental and fussy were other reasons cited.

One half of the municipal non-profit neighbours would do nothing if they found out non-profit housing was being planned for their neighbourhood. A small percent of the private non-profit neighbours (16.7%) would also do nothing, while one-third of these neighbours would get more information on the proposed site.

b) Group That is Aware of Non-Profit Housing in Their Neighbourhood

Two-thirds of the municipal non-profit neighbours and just over one half (53.8%) of the private non-profit neighbours were aware of non-profit housing in their neighbourhoods. A large proportion in the municipal and private non-profit housing groups (66.7% and 71.4%, respectively) agreed that the non-profit housing located in their respective neighbourhoods is well built.

Almost three-quarters of the private non-profit neighbours (71.4%)said that in terms of building type, the non-profit housing fits well into their neighbourhood (Table 4.18). In contrast, two-thirds of the municipal non-profit neighbours felt that it does not fit well into their neighbourhood.

All of the private non-profit neighbours who thought that non-profit housing does not fit into the neighbourhood explained that building types other than single houses look out of place in the neighbourhood. Almost two-thirds of the municipal non-profit neighbours (62.5%) also gave this explanation.

Similarly, when the control group was asked whether they were in favour or opposed to the construction of a number of different building types in their neighbourhood, all of the respondents were in favour of single family homes, and a majority (70.0%) were in favour of duplexes in their neighbourhood. However, apartment buildings, row townhouses and condominiums were opposed by most respondents.

TABLE 4.18: TYPE OF NON-PROFIT BUILDING GENERAL FIT INTO NEIGHBOURHOODS

	MNPH Neighbours		PNPH Neighbours		Control Group	
Does non-profit building type fit into neighbourhood?						
Yes	4	(33.3)	5	(71.4)	Question not asked	
No	8	(66.7)	2	(28.6)		
Total	12	(100.0)	7	(100.0)		
How do you feel about locating the following building types in neighbourhood?						
Single houses						
In favour	Question not asked		Question not asked		30	
Total					30	(100.0)
Duplexes						
In favour					21	(70.0)
Indifferent					4	(13.3)
Opposed					5	(16.7)
Total					30	(100.0)
Low Rise Apartment						
In favour					8	(26.7)
Indifferent					4	(13.3)
Opposed					18	(60.0)
Total					30	(100.0)
High Rise Apartment						
In favour					4	(13.3)
Indifferent					4	(13.3)
Opposed					22	(73.3)
Total					30	(99.9)
Townhouses						
In favour					6	(20.0)
Indifferent					7	(23.3)
Opposed					17	(56.7)
Total					30	(100.0)
Condominiums						
In favour					9	(30.0)
Indifferent					4	(13.3)
Opposed					17	(56.7)
Total					30	(100.0)

Two-thirds of the municipal non-profit neighbours who are aware of the nearby site did not know whether the non-profit residents fit into the neighbourhood. Forty-two percent of the private non-profit neighbours also did not know whether the non-profit residents fit in but 42.9% said that the residents do fit into the neighbourhood, compared to 16.7 percent of the municipal non-profit neighbours. Reasons why respondents thought residents fit in include: they get along well with others, non-profit residents are just like everyone else and there are a lot of non-profit sites in the area.

Over half (57.1%) of the private non-profit neighbours who are aware of the nearby non-profit site reported that they thought their neighbours accept the residents of non-profit housing, compared with only 8.3 percent of the municipal non-profit neighbours acceptance (Table 4.19). One-third of the municipal non-profit neighbours stated that they thought their neighbours reject non-profit housing residents. Similarly, 28.6 percent of the private non-profit neighbours thought their neighbours would reject residents of non-profit housing. A higher percentage of private non-profit neighbours (66.7%) accept non-profit housing in their neighbourhood primarily because they have never had any problems with the residents. Other respondents said they reject non-profit residents in their neighbourhood because they are unable to relate to them and a decrease in property values would probably occur.

TABLE 4.19: DO RESPONDENTS THINK THEIR NEIGHBOURS ACCEPT OR REJECT THE RESIDENTS OF NON-PROFIT HOUSING

	MNPH Neighbours		PNPH Neighbours	
	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)
Accept	1	(8.3)	4	(57.1)
Reject	4	(33.3)	2	(28.6)
Don't know	6	(50.0)	1	(14.3)
Not specified	1	(8.3)	0	
Total	12	(99.9)	7	(100.0)

Table 4.20 reveals that the majority of both groups of neighbours who were aware of non-profit housing in their neighbourhood did not notice any changes in their attitudes since non-profit housing was built. Similarly, a larger percentage of both groups of respondents did not perceive any attitude changes on the part of their family members (Table 4.21).

TABLE 4.20: ARE RESPONDENTS AWARE OF ANY CHANGES IN ATTITUDES SINCE NON-PROFIT HOUSING WAS BUILT?

	MNPH Neighbours		PNPH Neighbours	
	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)
Yes	4*	(33.3)	1**	(14.3)
No	6	(50.0)	6	(85.7)
Not specified	2	(16.7)	0	
Total	12	(100.0)	7	(100.0)

* Changes in behaviour included:
  - I want to move.
  - Witnessed the behaviour of children of the non-profit site and now I have a negative attitude toward non-profit housing.
  - Less accepting attitude.
  - I feel sorry for neighbours because property values are declining.

** - positive attitude change.

TABLE 4.21: ARE RESPONDENTS AWARE OF ANY CHANGES IN FAMILY MEMBERS' ATTITUDES?

	MNPH Neighbours		PNPH Neighbours	
	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)
Yes	1*	(8.3)	0	
No	8	(66.7)	6	(85.7)
Not specified	3	(25.0)	0	
Don't know	0		1	(14.3)
Total	12	(100.0)	7	(100.0)

* Less accepting because of increased traffic and the number of police calls.

A large number of the municipal and private non-profit housing neighbours (50.0% and 42.9%, respectively) thought, in general, that it did not bother them to have had non-profit housing built in their neighbourhood. Others said

they don't like it, they feel resentful or they feel they've lost the value of their homes.

c) Summary of the Level of 'Fit' of Non-Profit Housing

This section focused primarily on the municipal non-profit housing neighbour respondents and the private non-profit housing neighbours. However, these two groups were also divided into two groups; one group included those who are not aware of non-profit housing in their neighbourhood and those who are aware. Of the neighbours who were not aware of non-profit housing in their neighbourhood, two-thirds of the municipal non-profit housing neighbours and one-third of the private non-profit housing neighbours said the residents of non-profit housing would fit into the neighbourhood. At least one half of both neighbour groups said they would oppose non-profit housing coming into their neighbourhood.

In contrast, of the respondents who were aware of non-profit housing in their neighbourhood (both municipal non-profit housing and private non-profit housing), two-thirds of the municipal non-profit housing neighbours 'did not know' whether non-profit residents fit into their neighbourhood whereas just under half of the private non-profit housing neighbours 'did not know' whether they fit in; however, almost 43% of the private non-profit housing neighbours said residents do fit in compared to almost 17% of the municipal non-profit housing neighbours. Just over one-half of the private non-profit housing neighbours thought their neighbours would accept non-profit housing in their neighbourhood compared to less than 10% acceptance by municipal non-profit housing respondents' neighbours.

4.7 Structural Quality Comparisons Across the Neighbourhood Groups

The three groups of neighbours were asked if their thoughts about non-profit housing would be different if it was built by the government versus the private sector. Forty-six percent of the private non-profit neighbours indicated that their thoughts would be different, compared with 27.8 percent of the municipal non-profit neighbours and 26.7 percent of the control group.

In an examination of the reasons for these differences in thoughts, one-half of the control group preferred the housing to be built by the government while the other half preferred the private sector. Interestingly, eighty percent of the municipal non-profit neighbours preferred the private sector, while 66.7 percent of the private non-profit neighbours preferred that this kind of housing be built by the government. Reasons why the private sector was preferred include: no increase in taxes, site is maintained, more sympathetic to the types of homes to be built in neighbourhoods and better chance for public input. The government sector was preferred because it is more responsible.

4.8 General Comments and Suggestions

a) Suggestions About How Non-Profit Housing Could Be Best Fitted Into Residential Neighbourhoods

All three groups of neighbours made the following suggestions:

- non-profit units should be scattered throughout the City.

- build a smaller number of units per site or use single family homes for non-profit housing.
- units should be monitored to ensure they are maintained (both the resident and the non-profit housing provider are responsible).

b) Suggestions/Solutions to the Problem of Affordable Housing in Hamilton

There were very few suggestions that were common to the three groups of neighbours. However, the municipal non-profit and control group neighbours stated the following common responses:

- a screening process is needed in order to ensure that those applying really need non-profit housing.
- low income people should receive more money/a rent subsidy.
- the current system requires an incentive, the government should impose a time limit which would give residents the opportunity to "get on their feet".
- there is a need for more high density apartments with affordable rents built in appropriate places in the City.

c) General Comments

The general comments made by the three groups of neighbours cover a wide range of items not unlike the suggestions and solutions mentioned in the preceding two sections. The following comments are common to the three neighbour groups:

- society must be educated and made more aware of the affordable housing crisis and non-profit residents should be educated/motivated to maintain

their property or the housing providers should be made responsible.

- non-profit housing is badly needed in this City and I support it.
- non-profit housing should be built the same as existing housing types in the neighbourhood and both residents and neighbours should be comfortable with it.
- the government is "overdosing on handouts', non-profit housing is a harmful government policy and there is already enough of it.

5.0 INTEGRATION OF THE LITERATURE AND THE DATA

5.1 Impacts on Residents of Non-Profit Housing

The review of the literature revealed a number of impacts of non-profit housing on its residents. The collected data provide some substantiation for these impacts.

The literature revealed the importance of considering the location of various services in relation to the location of non-profit housing. Residents of non-profit housing should not think that they are isolated from schools, grocery stores, etc. The data from the residents of the municipal non-profit housing site indicate that a majority of the respondents think services are 'easily accessible'.

The literature also provided an explanation of the stigma that some non-profit residents experience as a result of living in non-profit housing. In general, the majority of residents stated that living in non-profit housing is a 'positive experience'. Upon closer examination, it was found that rent-geared-to-income residents have more positive perceptions of themselves and think others perceive them more positively than the low-end-of-market rent residents.

In the literature, a high degree of contact with relatives, friends and neighbours off-site corresponds with greater housing satisfaction for residents. The data from the present study indicates that the majority of the non-profit housing residents' social networks are not negatively affected by

where they live. Given that most respondents indicated that living where they are is 'a positive experience', it is thought that this finding corresponds with the literature.

Finally, the literature indicated that social isolation from the surrounding neighbourhood can occur if there are physical impediments to interaction. Responses from the participants in the present study indicate that there is no lack of interaction between residents within the housing complex because the majority borrow and lend a number of items with their resident neighbours and talk with their resident neighbours regularly. Unfortunately, no data was collected about the interaction between non-profit residents and neighbours living outside the complex.

5.2 Impacts on Neighbours of Non-Profit Housing

The literature revealed some commonly perceived negative effects on neighbours when non-profit housing is built in neighbourhoods. The common negative effects include: decrease in property values; fear of personal/physical harm; neighbourhood stigma; and traffic congestion. Respondents of the current study indicated the same perceived effects as well as increased noise levels and non-profit residents' children may have negative effects on their children. However, various sub-groups of these neighbours (e.g., those aware of non-profit housing versus those who are not aware) revealed some deviations from these perceived effects.

6.0 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION*

6.1 General Attitudes Held by The Three Groups of Neighbours Regarding Non-Profit Housing

The descriptions presented in this section are based on the pooled data from 3 groups of neighbours: the municipal non-profit housing neighbours, the private non-profit housing neighbours and the control group of neighbours. The questionnaire data for these three groups are combined in order to develop an understanding of the trends for the 3 groups as a whole.

There is an interesting trend in Table 6.1. Support for the use of non-profit housing as a means of providing affordable housing was strong. Only 8% opposed its use. When asked about increased spending to provide more non-profit housing, however, 25% felt it was a waste of tax dollars. When asked whether residents of a community should accept the location of non-profit housing in their neighbourhood, the level of opposition rose to 33%. Finally, when asked whether they themselves would oppose non-profit housing in their neighbourhood, the level of opposition rose to 56%. In general, then, the level of opposition rose as the question came "closer to home". Although 84% supported the concept of non-profit housing, 56% said they would oppose its location in their neighbourhood.

* The percentages were rounded-off in this section of the report.

Interestingly, however, the proportion who replied that they would not want to live next door to someone who lives in non-profit housing was only 39%. On this question, 31% of the respondents were neutral.

In summary, these results are consistent with the expectations which arise from the well-known "not in my backyard" attitude towards non-profit housing. Although support for the concept was wide spread, over half of the respondents were opposed to locating non-profit housing in their particular neighbourhood.

TABLE 6.1: THE THREE GROUPS OF NEIGHBOURS' LEVEL OF AGREEMENT WITH A NUMBER OF STATEMENTS

	Agree	Disagree	Neutral	It Depends
1. Non-profit housing is a good way to help others find affordable housing.	84%	8%	8%	
2. Increased government spending to build non-profit housing is a waste of tax dollars.	25%	18%	57%	
3. Neighbours should accept the location of non-profit housing in their neighbourhood to serve the need of the local community.	46%	33%	21%	
4. Would you say that, in general you support the location of non-profit housing in your neighbourhood?	26%	56%	15%	3%
5. I would not want to live next door to someone who lives in non-profit housing.	39%	30%	31%	

a) Sources of Concern Regarding Non-Profit Housing

When asked about the potentially negative effects of non-profit housing upon their neighbourhoods, the largest percentage (81%) felt it would affect

property values. Fifty-seven percent felt it would affect traffic levels, 52% felt it would affect noise levels and 46% felt it would affect parking spaces. Those concerns are all related to property values and the perceived consequences of the increase in population density which would result from non-profit housing.

Related to those concerns was a general perception that non-profit housing would discourage people from moving into the neighbourhood - a view held by 57% of the respondents. Sixteen percent responded 'it depends' to this question while 15% replied that they didn't know whether non-profit housing would encourage or discourage persons from moving into their neighbourhood. Only 3% felt that it might encourage new neighbours to move into the neighbourhood. Among the respondents who felt it would discourage new residents, 20 gave reasons for their opinion; these are presented in Table 6.2.

TABLE 6.2 REASONS WHY NON-PROFIT HOUSING WOULD DISCOURAGE NEW NEIGHBOURS FROM MOVING INTO THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

Reasons	Percentage
Residents would not maintain homes	30%
Society has a negative attitude	25%
Appearance of non-profits is unappealing	20%
Crowding	10%
Neighbourhood would look 'low class'	10%
One neighbour has already moved out of the neighbourhood	5%
Total	100%

A smaller proportion of respondents had concerns about the type of residents who would be living in non-profit housing. Twenty-eight percent felt that 'people who live in non-profit housing may be a bad influence on their children'. Eleven percent agreed with the statement - 'It is frightening to think of residents of non-profit housing living in this area'. As mentioned in the previous section of this chapter, 39% stated that they would not want to live next door to someone who lives in non-profit housing.

It appears, therefore, that a majority of neighbours have concerns about the structure of non-profit housing which are related to problems of increased population densities and decreased property values. A minority, however, have concerns about the nature of the residents.

b) Attitudes Towards Other Community Support Services

Neighbours were asked how they felt about locating a variety of other community services in their neighbourhood. The percentage opposing each service is presented in Table 6.3.

TABLE 6.3: PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS OPPOSED TO VARIOUS COMMUNITY SUPPORT SERVICES

Service	% Opposed
Mental Health Drop-In Center	26%
Center for the Homeless	23%
Legal Aid Clinic	15%
Youth Drop-In Center	15%
Youth Legal Services	13%
Public Health Clinic	11%
Accountant's Office	10%
Children's Day Care Center	10%
Seniors' Drop-In	8%
Dentist's Office	8%
Community Recreation Center	7%
Youth Recreation Center	7%
Lawyer's Office	7%
Seniors' Fitness Center	5%
Geriatric Health Center	5%
Doctor's Office	3%

Opposition appeared to increase in relation to the degree to which the service would deal with persons with socially controversial problems. Less than 10% opposed services which tended to serve the general public. Opposition rose to approximately 15% when the service was designed to assist low income persons, persons in conflict with the law or persons requiring legal advice. Opposition to a legal aid clinic was more than twice the level

of opposition to a lawyer's office. Opposition was highest to services for the homeless (23%) and ex-psychiatric patients (26%).

It is noteworthy, however, that the level of opposition to non-profit housing (56% from page 5) was more than double the level of opposition to a mental health drop-in center. This may be due to the fact that non-profit housing has a more pronounced impact upon the structure and population density of the community (ie., because the concentration of non-profit housing residents is constant whereas patrons of various community services would only come into the area during business hours). Respondents, whose opposition to non-profit housing was based upon density concerns might not oppose the establishment of a drop-in center for ex-psychiatric patients.

c) Summary

1. Although there was wide-spread support among the respondents for the 'concept' of non-profit housing, a majority opposed the location of non-profit housing within their own neighbourhood.
2. The most prevalent concerns about non-profit housing relate to property values and the impact of increased population densities. A proportion of respondents, however, had concerns about the type of residents that would reside in non-profit housing. Twenty-eight percent felt such residents might have a bad effect upon their children and 11% were frightened of the prospect of having non-profit housing residents living in their neighbourhood.

3. Opposition to non-profit housing was more than twice as high as the level of opposition to locating other kinds of community services in their neighbourhood. Between 5% and 10% of the respondents were opposed to any community support services.

6.2 Comparison of Attitudes Between Non-Profit Housing Neighbours and the Control Group Neighbours

This section focuses on two groups of neighbours. One group is the combined group of municipal and private non-profit housing neighbours and the other group is the control group. This section reveals the differences and similarities between neighbours who are exposed to non-profit housing in their neighbourhoods and neighbours who do not have non-profit housing in their neighbourhood (i.e., control group).

One of the primary purposes of comparing the responses of the control group with those of the non-profit housing neighbours was to examine whether or not proximity to non-profit housing had an effect on attitudes. If, for example, the neighbours of non-profit housing units had substantially more negative attitudes towards non-profit housing, it may be that their experiences with the housing and/or its residents had led to more negative perceptions. This result would be consistent with the notion that non-proift housing has a disruptive effect upon the neighbourhood.

This analysis is complicated by two important dimensions:

1. Not all of the non-profit neighbours were aware that they had non-profit units in their neighbourhood - 39% were unaware.
2. A substantial proportion of the control group (77%) were aware of non-profit units in areas just beyond the boundaries of their neighbourhoods.

As a result, this analysis cannot be construed as a comparison between a group that was 'experienced' with respect to non-profit housing and a group that was 'inexperienced'. The importance of this 'awareness' factor is examined in the next section of this report.

This section will concentrate upon the differences between the non-profit neighbours and the control group and, as such, will examine the effect of 'proximity' to non-profit housing rather than 'awareness of' or 'experience with' non-profit housing. If non-profit housing has a disruptive influence upon neighbourhoods, it is anticipated that non-profit neighbours would have more negative attitudes toward non-profit housing than those among the control group.

a) Attitudes Towards Non-Profit Housing

Neighbours of non-profit housing neighbourhoods were less likely to oppose the location of non-profit housing units in their neighbourhood than the control group neighbours although the largest proportion in both groups were in opposition (see Table 6.4). This tendency for the non-profit

neighbours to have a slightly more positive view of non-profit housing was also present in a number of other items (see also Table 6.5):

- they were less likely to oppose living next door to non-profit housing residents;
- they were less likely to believe that non-profit residents would be a bad influence on their children;
- they were more likely to disagree with the statement that it was frightening to think of non-profit residents living in their community. This difference was primarily due to fewer 'neutral' responses and this suggests that the non-profit neighbours were more polarized on this question than the control group.

TABLE 6.4: PERCENTAGE OF NON-PROFIT HOUSING NEIGHBOURS AND CONTROL NEIGHBOURS WHO SUPPORT OR OPPOSE NON-PROFIT HOUSING IN THEIR NEIGHBOURHOOD

	Non-Profit Housing Neighbours	Control Neighbours
Support	39%	13%
Oppose	45%	67%
Neutral	13%	17%
It Depends	3%	3%
Total	100%	100%

TABLE 6.5: NON-PROFIT NEIGHBOURS AND CONTROL GROUP LEVELS OF AGREEMENT WITH HOUSING STATEMENTS

	Non-Profit Housing Neighbours			Control Group Neighbours		
	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
1. Non-profit housing is a good way to help others find affordable housing.	89%	10%	6%	83%	7%	10%
2. Increased government spending to build non-profit housing is a waste of tax dollars.	32%	19%	48%	17%	17%	67%
3. Neighbourhood residents have nothing to fear from people who live in non-profit housing.	36%	19%	45%	30%	40%	30%
4. All non-profit housing should be built in one specified area of the City rather than spread throughout the City.	19%	16%	65%	13%	13%	73%
5. We need to adopt a far more tolerant attitude toward those people who are receiving financial assistance to find affordable housing.	55%	19%	26%	80%	7%	13%
6. It is frightening to think of residents of non-profit housing living in this area.	13%	6%	81%	10%	30%	60%
7. Residents should accept the location of non-profit housing in their neighbourhood to serve the needs of the local community.	45%	19%	29%	40%	23%	37%
8. I would not want to live next door to someone who lives in non-profit housing.	36%	26%	39%	43%	37%	20%
9. People who live in non-profit housing should not be treated as outcasts of society.	84%	6%	10%	93%	7%	
10. People who live in non-profit housing may be a bad influence on our children.	23%	23%	55%	33%	20%	47%

Non-profit neighbours were also more polarized on the question regarding whether neighbours had anything to fear from non-profit residents. In this case, a larger proportion of the non-profit neighbours both agreed and disagreed with this statement with fewer in the neutral category. (Additional details are outlined in Table 6.5 but not elaborated upon here.)

In other sections of the questionnaires, respondents were asked a number of other related questions. The non-profit neighbours were considerably less likely to feel that they needed to develop a more tolerant view of non-profit residents. They also tended to have more negative feelings about the effects of additional non-profit housing on the attractiveness of their neighbourhood. Among the non-profit neighbours, 68% felt that more non-profit housing would detract from the visual appearance of their neighbourhood, as compared with 57% of the control neighbours. Similarily, 61% of the non-profit neighbours felt that non-profit housing would discourage people from moving into the neighbourhood. Only 53% of the control group felt this way.

Taken together, these results suggest some inconsistency in attitudes. The non-profit neighbours were less likely to oppose the location of non-profit housing in their community despite the fact that they were somewhat more likely to believe that this housing would have a negative impact on the attractiveness of their community. This suggests that they were more willing to accept the 'loss of attractiveness' consequence than were the control neighbours.

In general, then, the results did not support the notion that the non-profit neighbours would report more negative attitudes towards non-profit housing, when compared to the control group. On a number of dimensions, the non-profit neighbours were slightly more positive although these differences did not tend to be large.

These results, therefore, did not provide any evidence to support the notion that proximity to non-profit housing was associated with more negative attitudes towards non-profit housing. This, in turn, did not support the proposition that non-profit housing had a significant disruptive effect upon the neighbourhood.

b) Attitudes Towards Other Community Services

The non-profit neighbours were compared to the control group with respect to their level of opposition to other kinds of community services. Table 6.6 displays these result.

TABLE 6.6: PERCENTAGE OF NON-PROFIT NEIGHBOURS AND CONTROL GROUP NEIGHBOURS OPPOSED TO VARIOUS COMMUNITY SUPPORT SERVICES

Services	Non-Profit Neighbours % opposed	Control Group % opposed
Mental Health Drop-In	36%	17%
Center for Homeless	32%	13%
Seniors' Drop-In	13%	3%
Youth Drop-In	16%	13%
Community Recreation Center	10%	3%
Youth Recreation Center	10%	3%
Seniors' Fitness Program	10%	0%
Children's Day Care	10%	10%
Doctor's Office	10%	3%
Public Health Clinic	10%	13%
Dentist's Office	7%	10%
Geriatric Health Center	7%	3%
Legal Aid Clinic	16%	13%
Accountant's Office	13%	7%
Lawyer's Office	6%	7%
Youth Legal Clinic	10%	17%

The differences between the two groups were relatively minor on most of the dimensions. Of note, however, is the tendency to for the non-profit group to have a substantially higher level of opposition to a mental health drop-in center and a center for the homeless than the control group neighbours. Among the alternatives listed, these are the services which serve the most socially-controversial target groups.

It appears, therefore, that the lower level of opposition to non-profit housing among the non-profit group was not associated to a lower level of opposition to controversial services in general. This group may have been more accepting of non-profit housing but they were considerably less accepting of other controversial services.

c) Attitudes Towards Housing Types

The control group neighbours were also asked whether they were in favour or opposed to different building types within their community. Table 6.7 reveals the control group neighbours' degree of opposition to various building types.

TABLE 6.7: CONTROL GROUP'S LEVEL OF OPPOSITION TO VARIOUS BUILDING TYPES

Building Type	% Opposed
Single Famly Dwellings	0%
Duplexes	17%
Townhouses	57%
Condominiums	57%
Low Rise Apartments	60%
High Rise Apartments	73%

The majority of this group were opposed to any type of housing other than single family dwellings. The highest level of opposition was for high rise apartments.

d) Summary

1. The non-profit housing neighbours did not exhibit a higher proportion of negative attitudes towards non-profit housing than did the control neighbours, despite the fact the non-profit neighbours appeared to have more negative attitudes towards other controversial community services. This suggests that non-profit housing has little neighbourhood disruption.
2. Among the control group, most of the respondents were opposed to the location of any housing types other than single family dwellings in their neighbourhood.
3. The analysis completed in this section was complicated by the fact that 38% of the non-profit neighbours were unaware of the existence of non-profit housing units in their neighbourhood. The effect of 'awareness' upon attitudes towards housing is examined in the next chapter.

6.3 Comparison of Aware and Unaware Non-Profit Neighbours' Responses

This section focuses only upon the two groups of non-profit housing neighbours - the control group of neighbours is not included in this section. First, an analysis was completed of the neighbours who are aware of non-profit housing in their neighbourhood compared with those neighbours who are unaware. Then an analysis of the municipal non-profit neighbours and the private non-profit neighbours was completed.

a) Levels of Awareness

More municipal non-profit housing neighbours were aware of non-profit housing in their neighbourhood than were private non-profit neighbours. Among respondents adjacent to the municipal project, 66% were aware that they had non-profit housing in their neighbourhood but only 17% identified the municipal housing units. The majority (83%) of these respondents identified other non-profit units rather than the municipal units. Within the private non-profit group of neighbours, 54% of the respondents were aware that they had non-profit housing in their neighbourhood identified the same private non-profit housing development. The results suggest, therefore, that although the level of awareness about non-profit housing units was relatively similar in both neighbourhoods (66% vs. 54%), the municipal non-profit housing units were less 'noticed' than the private units.

This has important implications for the results of this study. Since so few of the neighbours of the municipal units were aware of the existence of these units, any attitudes which they may have developed in response to their awareness of non-profit housing may have developed as a result of exposure to other non-profit developments in their neighbourhood and not specifically the municipal site. One of the purposes of this study was to compare the neighbours of private and municipal non-profit housing developments with respect to their attitudes towards the non-profit housing units. Given the very low level of awareness of municipal units among the neighbours, it is not possible to carry out this analysis. Across the 31 respondents contained in both groups, only 2 of them (7%) were aware of municipal units. These

results suggest that the municipal units had a much lower profile in their neighbourhood than did other non-profit units.

b) Awareness and Attitudes

When the municipal and private non-profit neighbours were considered as one group they did not exhibit a higher proportion of negative attitudes toward non-profit housing than the control group. This suggests that those familiar with non-profit housing have more positive attitudes about this type of housing. When the municipal and private non-profit neighbours were divided into two groups - aware and unaware of non-profit housing in their neighbourhoods - it was anticipated that those who were aware would reveal more positive attitudes than those who were unaware. Interestingly, an opposite effect was found.

In general, the neighbours living in the two study neighbourhoods who were aware of non-profit housing units in their neighbourhood, had more negative perceptions of non-profit housing than those who were not aware. Forty-seven percent of the aware group reported that they would not want to live next door to non-profit housing residents, compared to only 18% of the unaware group. Thirty-two percent of the aware group reported that non-profit housing residents were a bad influence on their children, compared to only 9% of the unaware group.

On a more general attitudinal level, however, the aware respondents were more likely to feel that neighbours should accept the location of non-profit housing in their neighbourhood (58% vs. 45%). There was also an interesting

difference in the responses to the question of whether they would support or oppose the location of non-profit housing in their neighbourhood (see Table 6.8).

TABLE 6.8: PERCENTAGE OF AWARE AND UNAWARE GROUPS DEGREE OF SUPPORT OR OPPOSITION TO NON-PROFIT HOUSING IN THEIR NEIGHBOURHOOD

	n=19 Aware Neighbours	n=11 Unaware Neighbours
Support	37%	46%
Oppose	37%	55%
Indifferent	21%	0%
Undecided	5%	0%

The aware group reported a much higher incidence of undecided or indifferent responses than the unaware group. Consequently, they were less likely to oppose or support the concept. In contrast, a majority of the unaware group (55%) said they would oppose non-profit housing in their neighbourhood.

In general, then, it appeared that neighbours who were aware of non-profit housing units within their neighbourhood were apt to express more negative feelings about the residents of these units than those who were unaware, although they were less likely to oppose the location of non-profit housing in their neighbourhood. But this aware group was also equally divided between support for and opposition to non-profit housing in their neighbourhood whereas the unaware group revealed higher responses in opposition to non-profit housing. In causal terms, at least two alternative

explanations could account for some of the negative attitudes that were found among the aware group:

1. The aware respondents had experienced some kind of negative interaction with non-profits which increased both their awareness and their negative feelings.
2. Respondents who intially had negative feelings (that were not necessarily a result of negative interactions) towards non-profit housing were more apt to 'notice' non-profit housing units in their communities.

With respect to the first of these possible explanations, the aware respondents were asked whether or not the non-profit 'residents fit into' their neighbourhood. Only 5% responded to the negative. The largest proportion (58%) replied that they didn't know, 26% replied to the affirmative and 10% gave a qualified 'it depends' response. Among the 'aware' responders, then, only 5% felt that non-profit residents did not fit into their community. Most respondents did not know whether they fit in or not. This does not support the possibility that a substantial proportion of the 'aware' responders had experienced negative interactions with the non-profit residents.

When asked the same question about the housing units, rather than the residents, the incidence of negative responses rose. The proportion of aware respondents who felt that the buildings did not fit into the community was 53% as opposed to 47% who felt that they did fit in. In general, then, the aware

respondents were more likely to have concerns about the 'fit' of housing type than about the 'fit' of residents into their neighbourhood.

Taken together, these two sets of results suggest the following possible explanation - 'Aware' respondents are aware of the non-profit housing units but are not familiar with the residents living in them. The lack of familiarity with residents, coupled with a dislike of the units (among 53%) resulted in a reliance upon old negative stereotypes of non-profit residents. This might explain the inconsistency between the fact that 47% of the aware group replied that they would not want to live next door to non-profit residents and as many as 32% felt they might have a harmful impact upon their children, but only 5% replied that the non-profit residents did not fit into their community. The largest proportion (58%) replied that they didn't know whether non-profit residents fit in or not.

c) Municipal Non-Profit and Private Non-Profit Neighbourhood Comparisons

A comparison of the attitudes of 'aware' respondents within the two non-profit housing neighbourhoods yielded some interesting differences. In interpreting these differences, it is noteworthy that almost 85% of the aware group in the municipal non-profit neighbourhood were not aware of the municipal non-profit units - rather, they were aware of other non-profit units in their neighbourhood. These results cannot be construed, therefore, as a comparison between a municipal development and a private non-profit development. If anything, they can only be interpreted as differences between groups who are aware of different non-profit developments.

In general, the aware respondents in the private non-profit neighoburhood had more positive attitudes towards non-profit housing than did the aware respondents in the municipal non-profit neighbourhood. Results from the key questions are presented below:

- only 25% of the municipal non-profit neighbours felt they had nothing to fear from non-profit residents, while this was true of 43% of the private non-profit neighbourhood.
- 50% of the municipal non-profit neighbours felt that increased spending on non-profit housing was a waste of money while this was true of none of the private non-profit neighbours.
- 25% of the municipal non-profit neighbours felt that it was frightening to think of non-profit residents living in their neighbourhood, while this was true of none of the private non-profit neighbours.
- 50% of the municipal non-profit neighbours felt that non-profit residents might be a bad influence on their children, while this was true of none of the private non-profit neighbours.
- 50% of the municipal non-profit neighbours replied that they would not want to live next door to a non-profit unit, while this was true of only 43% of the private non-profit neighbours. The differences were greater at the positive end of the scale because of a much lower 'neutral' response rate among the private non-profit neighbours - only 17% of the municipal non-profit neighbours said they would not mind living next door to a non-profit unit while this was true of 57% of the private non-profit neighbours.

These results suggest, then, that the private non-profit neighbours had relatively positive attitudes towards non-profit housing even though they also had a relatively high level of awareness of the private non-profit development. The residents of the other neighbourhood appeared to have a more negative view of non-profit housing in association with an awareness of non-profit developments in their neighbourhoods.

It is also noteworthy that the private non-profit neighbours were more accepting of the non-profit buildings. When asked whether or not the buildings fit into their neighbourhood, 71% of the private non-profit neighbours responded to the affirmative as opposed to only 33% of the municipal non-profit neighbours. When asked the same question about the residents, the private non-profit neighbours were again more positive - 43% replied to the affirmative compared to 17% of the municipal non-profit group. The private non-profit group also had a lower 'don't know' response rate than the municipal neighbours (43% vs. 67%). The lower rate of 'don't know' responses among the private non-profit group suggests that this group is more willing to make a judgement about whether or not non-profit housing fit into their neighbourhood and consequently they had a higher level of awareness or familiarity of non-profit residents than did the municipal non-profit neighbours. This reduction in 'uncertainty' among the private non-profit neighbours was associated with an increase in positive perceptions.

d) Summary

1. Municipal non-profit housing neighbours were more aware than private non-profit housing neighbours of non-profit housing in their neighbourhoods but the majority of both groups identified sites other than the municipal non-profit housing site. Thus respondents answers reflect their thoughts about private non-profit housing sites.
2. This supports the tentative interpretation which was posed at the conclusion of section 6.2 of the report - negative attitudes towards non-profit housing and its residents tend to be associated with a dislike for the type of building and a lack of awareness of the residents. Conversely, more positive perceptions of the building type and awareness of the residents tend to be associated with more positive attitudes.
3. It is noteworthy that the enhanced support for non-profit housing does not necessarily translate into support for more non-profit housing units in their community. The private non-profit 'aware' neighbours were more likely to oppose the location of units than the municipal non-profit neighbours (43% vs. 33%). This may be based upon a perception that their neighbourhood already contains enough non-profit housing units.
4. The private non-profit neighbours had a more positive view of the housing units and the residents. They also appeared to be more aware of the residents, given the lower rate of 'don't know' responses referenced in the paragraph above. These factors combined to produce more positive feelings to non-profit housing among this group.

6.4 Summary of Municipal Non-Profit Residents' Responses

The fourth and final group of respondents from whom data was collected are the municipal non-profit residents. Residents were asked about the quality of housing, transportation to necessary services, social support networks and stigma. Sections a) through d) provide a summary of this data.

a) Housing

- 60% said their units were 'in good condition' or 'alright' when they first moved in.
- more than 50% said they were 'satisfied' with the following: outdoor landscaping, indoor heat, toilet facilities, flood control, odour control, rodent control, insect control, air circulation, electricity, hot running water, drinking water, supplied appliances, garbage disposal, play areas and parking space. Items with which respondents were generally 'dissatisfied' include the paint and cleanliness/maintenance.
- 75% said they noticed construction defects in their units.
- 60% thought the kitchen space was not adequate while 55% thought the dining room space was not adequate; bathroom space, private space for self, unit layout, storage and closet space and bedroom space were all rated adequate, good or excellent by all the respondents.
- over 80% said they do not have problems with vandalism, grafitti, overcrowding or management.
- 80% think that living where they are is a 'positive experience'.

- more than 80% said the inside and outside appearance of their units were 'important' or 'very important'.

b) Transportation

- On average, 70% perceive services (e.g., grocery and convenience stores, their doctor, a pharmacy, an elementary school, a hospital, a dentist, a department store, a recreation center and a park) to be 'easily accessible' even though most of these are located more than three blocks from respondents' homes.
- There were no differences between RGIs and LEMs regarding access to services except 60% RGIs said it is 'difficult to access' their doctor.
- The majority have a car in the family and very few use the public transportation system unless their car is not available.

c) Social Support Networks

- 75% said they exchange or borrow items from their neighbours.
- 65% said they talk to at least one neighbour about personal concerns or worries yet 80% said their neighbours are not among their closest friends.
- 75% still maintain contact with the neighbours where they used to live.
- 60% said their contacts with close relatives have not changed since moving into their non-profit unit.

d) Stigma

A difference in thoughts within the municipal non-profit residents group had not been anticipated at the outset of this research. After the data had

been collected, different trends in the data emerged between rent-geared-to-income respondents (RGI, n=5) and low-end-of-market rent respondents (LEM, n=15). The following list presents an overview of statements to which each group was asked to respond. These 2 groups were asked to respond to these statements by answering 'always', 'sometimes' or 'never'.

#1. Eighty percent of the RGI respondents indicated that they 'always' or 'sometimes' think that living in non-profit housing has given them a positive outlook on life whereas LEM respondents (87%) said it 'never' has.

#4. 60% of the RGI respondents said they 'always' think that, even though other people know they live in non-profit housing, they are treated like everyone else; but 60% of the LEM respondents 'never' feel that way.

#7. Both RGI (40%) and LEM (93%) respondents said they 'never' think they are too far away from necessary services although another 40% of the RGI respondents said they 'sometimes' feel that way.

#10. 87% of LEM respondents said they 'never' feel a sense of security living where they do but 80% of the RGI respondents 'always' feel a sense of security.

#11. RGI and LEM respondents answered with similar percentages regarding a strong attachment to their home and neighbourhood. The responses were almost evenly distributed across 'always', 'sometimes' and 'never'.

Thus, RGI and LEM respondents have opposite views about non-profit housing by helping them develop a positive outlook on life (#1), being treated like

everyone else despite the fact they are non-profit residents (#4) and having a sense of security as a result of living in non-profit housing (#10). The only item which revealed similar responses between the two groups focused on the nearness of necessary services (#11).

The RGI respondents seem to feel more positive about how they are treated by others. In general, they also do not think people have negative perceptions about them. Finally, they do not possess an abundance of negative self perceptions.

On the other hand, the LEM respondents are not generally as positive: as a group, non-profit housing has not helped them develop a positive outlook on life, they feel they are treated differently by others because they live in non-profit housing and they do not have a sense of security living where they do. Yet they do not feel really different from the RGI group either. They (100%) 'never' wish that there weren't subsidized units in their complex and 60% 'never' think (while 27% 'sometimes' think) that living in non-profit housing forces them to live with people who are different from themselves. Nonetheless, 47% said they can 'always' tell (and 27% said they can 'sometimes' tell) after living in non-profit housing for awhile which people live in subsidized units. In conclusion, although LEM respondents do not say they are different from RGI residents, they seem fairly able to identify RGI residents as different from themselves.

7.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Municipal Non-Profit Housing Residents

a) Conclusions

The results of this resident questionnaire indicate that, overall, the municipal non-profit residents are satisfied with their housing in terms of space (e.g., size of rooms), plumbing and water, heat and electricity, play areas, parking and landscaping. But a majority noted construction defects including leaky basements, cracked walls and door hinge problems. Thus, it appears that the quality of building materials and workmanship should be given due consideration when non-profit housing is being built. Also, since a majority of the respondents stated that the appearance of the exterior environment surrounding their units was important, appropriate maintenance should be ensured.

A majority perceive services to be easily accessible. Thus, it does not appear that living where they are has affected their ability to get to necessary services. Most residents have a car and do not use public transportation unless the family car is not available. Thus, even though most residents have a car, access to public transportation may still be necessary because it is used when the car is not available. Further study is needed to determine whether RGI residents actually require public transportation to a greater extent than do LEM residents.

Residents' social support networks do not appear to be negatively affected by where they live. A majority of respondents are still able to contact old neighbours, friends and relatives as necessary.

Finally, low-end-of-market rent (LEM) respondents are more negative than rent-geared-to-income (RGI) respondents about the impacts of non-profit housing on themselves. They do not think that non-profit housing has given them a positive outlook on life, they think they are treated differently by other people and they do not feel secure where they live. In contrast, the rent-geared-to-income (RGI) respondents perceived a more positive effect on these three items. A majority of LEM respondents do not think that living where they are forces them to live with people who are not like themselves yet they said they can easily identify people on subsidies after they had been there for awhile. One possible explanation for a higher degree of positive responses from RGI residents is that they are just happy to have a place to live because they have struggled hard to get there (e.g., long waiting lists, etc.). In relative terms, RGI residents may think that where they came from is much worse than what they have now, whereas the LEM residents may not make the same judgement.

b) Recommendations

1. THAT GOOD QUALITY BUILDING MATERIALS AND WORKMANSHIP BE CONSIDERED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NON-PROFIT HOUSING SO THAT BUILDINGS DO NOT DETERIORATE QUICKLY.

2. THAT THE EXTERIOR ENVIRONMENT SURROUNDING NON-PROFIT HOUSING UNITS BE MAINTAINED BY THE NON-PROFIT HOUSING BOARD SINCE A MAJORITY OF RESIDENTS STATED THAT THE OUTSIDE APPEARANCE OF THEIR UNITS WERE IMPORTANT TO THEM.
3. THAT FURTHER RESEARCH BE UNDERTAKEN TO FURTHER EXPLORE, UNDERSTAND AND SUBSEQUENTLY IMPROVE THE "RELATIONSHIP" BETWEEN RENT-GEARED-TO-INCOME RESIDENTS AND LOW-END-OF-MARKET RENT RESIDENTS.

7.2 Three Groups of Neighbours

a) Specific Conclusions

i) "Not In My Backyard" Dilemma

The results of this study provided evidence for the existence of the well-known 'not in my backyard' attitude towards non-profit housing. Although support for non-profit housing programs was wide spread, this support tended to diminish as the issue became 'closer to home' for respondents. A majority of respondents (56%) were opposed to the location of non-profit housing in their neighbourhoods.

The most frequent sources of concern were related to issues of decreased property values and increased population densities. These responses appeared to be linked to an opposition to the development of townhouses in neighbourhoods regardless of whether or not they were non-profit in nature.

A smaller group of approximately 30% to 40% had concerns about the kinds of residents who would live in non-profit housing. An analysis of the results pertaining to the causes of this opposition were consistent with the following explanation - negative attitudes towards non-profit housing and its residents tend to be associated with a dislike for the type of housing and a lack of awareness of the residents. If the units are judged to 'fit' into the neighbourhood and if neighbours have an opportunity to interact with residents and thereby develop an awareness of them, the level of opposition can be reduced.

ii) Awareness and Level of Opposition

The results did not support the proposition that the introduction of non-profit housing units in a neighbourhood caused enough disruption to increase the level of opposition to non-profit housing. In general, non-profit neighbours had slightly more positive feelings towards non-profit housing than did the control respondents who did not live in as close proximity to non-profit housing.

Related analysis suggested that opposition decreased from 57% to 37% among respondents who reported that they were 'aware' of non-profit units in their neighbourhood. This decrease in opposition, however, was not associated with an increase in support. It appeared, instead, to be associated with an increase in neutral or indifferent attitudes towards non-profit housing. This suggests that awareness of non-profit housing in the community results in a shift of a number of 'opposers' to a more neutral position.

If, however, these units had resulted in disruption to the neighbourhood, a shift from 'favourable' and 'neutral' to 'opposed' would have occurred. These results, then, do not support the suggestion that significant disruption occurs as a result of non-profit housing.

iii) Perception of 'Fit' Between Municipal and Private Non-Profit Neighbours

The lack of awareness among neighbours of the municipal non-profit units in their neighbourhood made it impossible to compare the differential effects of private non-profit and municipal non-profit housing upon their respective neighbourhoods. The other non-profit sites were obviously more visible than the municipal non-profit units although the perception of the degree to which the other non-profit units 'fit into' the neighbourhood was very positive. Consequently, the heightened visibility of non-profit units did not appear to cause problems.

The results from the private non-profit neighbourhood strongly suggest that non-profit housing units can receive a relatively high degree of support in a community, if they are judged to 'fit in'. Fundamentally, the data indicated that housing type is an important factor in respondents' perceptions of what 'fits in' to their neighbourhood - single family homes 'fit in' to single family home neighbourhoods.

b) General Conclusions

Some opposition to non-profit housing will occur in every neighbourhood. Based upon a general interpretation of these results, the initial introduction

of planned, non-profit housing in a neighbourhood could meet with opposition from between 56% and 66% of the residents. Most of this opposition will be based on concerns related to decreased property values, increased population density and incompatible housing types. A group of approximately 30% to 40% will also have strong concerns about the nature of the residents.

Given the introduction of units which are judged to 'fit into' the neighbourhood and given an opportunity for interaction between residents and neighbours, the incidence of negative feelings among neighbours can be reduced. This reduction in opposition appears to be related to an increase in 'neutral' attitudes towards the units.

The placement of non-profit housing in a neighbourhood does not inevitably result in problems. A well-planned development which facilitates interaction between residents and neighbours can actually reduce the level of opposition to the units. Conversely, it is probable that poorly planned developments which do not 'fit in' to the neighbourhood and which isolate residents from their neighbourhood will serve to reinforce negative stereotypes about the residents of non-profit housing and thereby reinforce the existing opposition to non-profit housing units. These general effects may apply to any non-profit housing unit, regardless of whether they are municipal or private non-profit developments.

At this point 'opposition' should be further defined. The most frequent sources of concern, which subsequently and usually lead to opposition, relate to issues of decreased property values and increased population densities. These responses appeared to be linked to an opposition to the development of townhouses as opposed to non-profit housing per se. Evidently, the type of housing in neighbourhoods has an important effect on people's perceptions.

c) Recommendations

4. GIVEN THE FREQUENCY OF CONCERNS ABOUT PROPERTY VALUES AND GIVEN THE APPARENT LACK OF EMPIRICAL RESEARCH ON THE EFFECTS OF NON-PROFIT HOUSING ON PROPERTY VALUES, THE FOLLOWING RECOMMENDATION IS POSED - THAT REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE SOCIAL PLANNING AND RESEARCH COUNCIL AND THE MUNICIPAL NON-PROFIT HOUSING CORPORATION MEET WITH REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE HAMILTON REAL ESTATE BOARD FOR THE PURPOSE OF REVIEWING THE FEASIBILITY OF ANALYZING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NON-PROFIT HOUSING AND NEIGHBOURHOOD PROPERTY VALUES IN HAMILTON-WENTWORTH.
5. GIVEN THE IMPORTANCE OF THE 'FIT' OF UNITS INTO A NEIGHBOURHOOD AND THE APPARENT IMPORTANCE OF INTERACTION AMONG RESIDENTS AND NEIGHBOURS WITH RESPECT TO FACILITATING NEIGHBOURHOOD ACCEPTANCE, THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES ARE RECOMMENDED:
   A) THAT NEIGHBOURS OF A PROPOSED NON-PROFIT SITE BE INVOLVED IN THE PLANNING AND SITE DEVELOPMENT PHASES TO ENSURE THAT THEIR CONCERNS ARE NOTED BY THE PROJECT DEVELOPERS (e.g. BUILDING TYPE, ETC.). "HIDING" A NON-PROFIT HOUSING DEVELOPMENT IN A NEIGHBOURHOOD MAY NOT BE A GOOD IDEA.

B) THAT PLANS FOR PROPOSED NON-PROFIT DEVELOPMENTS INCLUDE SPECIFIC PLANS FOR FACILITATING THE INTERACTION OF RESIDENTS AND NEIGHBOURS (e.g., LOCATION AND ORIENTATION OF BUILDINGS, PATHWAYS, PLACEMENT OF COMMUNITY CENTERS, ETC.)

6. GIVEN THE PREVALENCE OF NEGATIVE STEREOTYPES ABOUT NON-PROFIT HOUSING RESIDENTS, IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT AN ORGANIZED COMMUNTY EDUCATION PROGRAM BE DESIGNED FOR USE IN NEIGHBOURHOODS WHERE NON-PROFIT SITES ARE PLANNED. THIS EDUCATION PROGRAM SHOULD INCLUDE:

   A) FACTUAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE NATURE OF NON-PROFIT HOUSING, ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS AND THE CHARACTERISTICS OF RESIDENTS;

   B) AN ABSTRACT OF THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY PERTAINING TO NEIGHBOURS' PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL HOUSING;

   C) ANY OBJECTIVE INFORMATION WHICH CAN BE GATHERED PERTAINING TO PROPERTY VALUES;

   D) INFORMATION ON THE MANNER IN WHICH NEIGHBOURS CAN PARTICIPATE IN THE PLANNING OF NON-PROFIT HOUSING IN THEIR NEIGHBOURHOODS.

The Social Planning and Research Council has applied for support from the Federal Department of the Secretary of State for funding to develop a community education package of this nature.

7.3 Recommendations for Future Activity

7. THAT DESCRIPTIVE INFORMATION ABOUT THE VARIOUS NON-PROFIT HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS (INCLUDING THEIR NEIGHBOURHOODS) LOCATED NEAR THE THREE STUDY POPULATIONS OF THE PRESENT STUDY BE COLLECTED IN ORDER TO SEE IF THIS DATA COULD ACCOUNT FOR THE VARIATION FOUND AMONG THE NEIGHBOUR GROUPS. THIS WOULD INCLUDE BUT NOT BE LIMITED TO:
   A) DEMOGRAPHICS (USING CENSUS INFORMATION),
   B) CONTEXTUAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE SITES INCLUDING AGE OF SITE, RESIDENTIAL MIX AND OTHER DEVELOPMENTS, AND DIFFERENCE IN THE MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE SITES (i.e, CONTENT ANALYSIS, ETC.).
8. THAT POLICE DEPARTMENT DATA ON CRIME RATES BE COLLECTED FOR THE STUDIED NEIGHBOURHOODS AND OTHER SIMILAR NEIGHBOURHOODS (AS CONTROLS) TO SEE IF THERE ARE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES.
9. THAT RESEARCH BE UNDERTAKEN TO EXPLORE FURTHER THE GENERAL SOCIETAL BIAS WHICH EXISTS AGAINST LOW INCOME PEOPLE WHETHER THEY LIVE IN NON-PROFIT HOUSING OR NOT. AND TO ALSO, EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITY OF "PUBLIC EDUCATION" TO ALTER THIS BIAS.

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